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THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Fourth Year of Issue

February, 1945

World Organization

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Toronto, Ontario, February, 1945

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O CANADA

Durability is a word well understood by the people of Quebec. Waves of Socialism, communism—what would you?—do not cause even a ripple amongst the trustworthy people of the province. Their cornerstone is the ever-enduring one of sanity and sound basic principles.

(Advertisement of the Province of Quebec in the Montreal Gazette's Commercial and Financial Review for 1944).

The Canadian Way . . . In this nation where freedom and opportunity are every man's right . . . where every man can rise from the ranks to heights as yet not fully explored . . .

(Advertisement of Hiram Walker & Sons, Ltd., in Maclean's Magazine).

Canadian home owners, under socialism, he said, would find a Government commission deciding what furniture should be made, the right of choice and selections would vanish and "comforts such as sofas and chesterfields would not be favored because it would be enervating and bad for the youth of the Socialist New Order."

(Gladstone Murray, addressing Ontario Retail Furniture Dealers' Association, as reported in Globe and Mail).

We will pay the sum of twenty-five dollars for the earliest authenticated example of the public use of the term "Zombie" to designate a member of the National Resources Mobilization Act forces. . . . Address "Zombie Editor," SATURDAY NIGHT. The prize goes to the person who sends in the example, not to the person who used the term.

(Saturday Night).

Given in marriage by her father, the bride wore a white satin gown with lace cascades. Her floor-length double veil was draped from a white feather coronet head-dress, and she carried a shower bouquet of yellow roses. Mrs. —, bride's sister, was the attendant, wearing powder blue chiffon with matching shoulder-length veil. She carried an old fashioned nosegay. At a reception in the home of the bride's parents, Mrs. — received wearing a gray crepe ensemble, fuchsia hat and accessories and corsage of mauve and pink sweet peas. The groom's mother, also receiving, was in a blue crepe gown. She wore a corsage of pink roses. For the wedding trip to the U.S., the bride changed to a black dress, matching hat, white accessories and coonskin coat.

(Toronto Star).

With Peace our fighting men and women will return to happy homes and loving arms and peaceful work. This rich land will be developed to its full, to give to each one a life of content in the midst of Plenty.

(Advertisement of O'Keefe's Brewing Company, Ltd., in New World).

A spectacular two-alarm fire of undetermined origin which broke out shortly before 8.30 o'clock last night, destroyed a four-door row at 176 to 182 Murray street and made a single dwelling at 184 Murray street untenable, driving 33 persons out of their homes in sub-zero weather. Fire Chief Burnett estimated the property loss at \$5,000.

(The Ottawa Journal).

Mr. King sought to compromise by swimming against the current of events, which is not Liberalism, but more like the rock-ribbed English Toryism which preceded modern Conservatism. . . . And with those who say his stature has increased he has succeeded. He did not succeed with the minority in Quebec. They are logical, if not understandable to the rest of us.

(The Printed Word).

This month's prize of six months' subscription goes to Gordon O. Rothney, Montreal, P.Q. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

THE CANADIAN FORUM

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German Comeback

The astounding power shown by the German counter-attack in Belgium and Luxembourg has upset all calculations, of the expert as well as of the man in the barber-shop, as to when the war will come to an end. We face the hard fact that two great allied attempts to break into Germany have come to nothing—the first, at Arnhem around the north end of the Westwall; and the second, the all-out effort towards Cologne and the Ruhr—and that von Rundstedt's blow has indefinitely delayed further Anglo-American advances in the West. It seems to be clear that the best German tanks are better than the best American ones both in armor and in guns, that allied bombing of Germany has not impeded German production nearly so much as expected, and that allied generals have not yet learned sufficiently the art in which the enemy are so proficient of combining tanks, artillery, infantry and paratroops in a concentrated overwhelming attack. Meanwhile the Russians have at last opened their large-scale attack along the German eastern front where most of the German divisions are located. Perhaps the hopeful thing about recent military developments is that all that von Rundstedt has accomplished is to ensure that the Russians will be the first into Berlin. Or does such a conclusion show too much hope or too much fellow-traveller enthusiasm?

Power Politics

All of us who would like to see a democratic neighborly world are prone these days to spend too much time denouncing power politics. For the real criticism to be made of Russian procedures in Poland and of British in Greece is not that these two governments are indulging in power politics but that each is insisting on using its own power by itself for its own selfish purposes. But we may as well make up our minds that whatever sort of a Dumbarton Oaks camouflage the Big Three powers may adopt, and however international the language of the Three Wise Men may be, what we are going to have in fact for the next generation is a purely self-centred Machiavellian policy of national power practised by each one of them.

In their current activities the Big Three are making clear what they really understand by Dumbarton Oaks. Not one of them has the slightest intention of allowing its nationalistic pursuit of its own national interests and security, as understood by itself, to be impeded by any international organization whatever. Hence the veto which any great power can impose upon action by the "Security Council," and the impotence to which they propose to reduce the "General Assembly." American public opinion has been rightly critical of recent British and Russian activities in Eastern and Balkan Europe. But American policy, as revealed at the Chicago air conference, is just as completely selfish. American imperialism happens not to take the political and territorial form which is being exhibited by its British and Russian opposites just now in Europe. It is economic imperialism, and it shows itself in American policies on international aviation, on trade and on oil, and in the policies most American bankers would like the government to adopt on currency stabilization and international lending.

Nor will any of the Big Three be deflected from its egoism by critics speaking from other countries. American criticism of recent British policy only leads to the nationalistic outburst of the *Economist* in Britain, supported by most of the other English papers. In these circumstances, since no genuine forum of world opinion is likely to function effectively in the near future, the only opinion which will be able to act as a real check on the Machiavellian pursuit of power by the Big Three is opinion from inside their own countries. From this point of view Great Britain still seems to be the best hope for liberal democratic internationalists. It is significant that while Mr. Churchill is still pursuing his policy of turning Greece into a protectorate of a conservative imperialist Britain, his style has been very considerably cramped by the persistent criticism which he has met at home. As Raymond Daniell remarked in the *New York Times* a while ago, the British people are obviously getting tired of having to cheer every time they venture to question Mr. Churchill's omniscience.

It has been the glory of English history since the days of Burke and Fox that there have always been English liberals prepared to subject English imperialism to criticism and denunciation, to examine it and expose it, to insist that politics must not be divorced from morality. Many times they have been defeated, but they have never been without some influence. There are similar American liberals, but the fact that the naked selfishness of American aviation policy received so little airing in the American press during the recent Chicago conference shows how relatively weak they are. As for the U.S.S.R., critics do not thrive in the atmosphere of Moscow. And the idea that there is some inherent quality in Stalinist communism which will impose due limits on Russian imperialist ambitions is too naive, or dishonest, to be worth discussion.

Pardon us for this unwonted and unexpected outburst of praise for the British. We shall immediately settle down again to read those two good colonial sheets, the *Toronto Globe and Mail* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, and by next month we hope to be our old selves once more.

Electoral Reform

We are told from Ottawa that the Liberal government is contemplating reform in our voting system by the introduction of some variety of proportional representation or preferential voting. This is another of the reforms of which Mr. King was strongly in favor when he was chosen leader of the party in 1919 but on behalf of which he has not lifted a finger since then. In every federal election since the last war save that of 1935 the Liberals won many more seats in the House of Commons than they were entitled to by their proportion of the popular vote; in this present parliament they have an overwhelming majority, or had until the breakup of their Quebec bloc, though they only won 54% of the votes of the electors in 1940. (Incidentally this is the only Canadian parliament since 1921 in which any Canadian government has held office with the support of a majority of the Canadian people.) The recent provincial elections in Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec make it look, however, as if the Liberals in the coming 1945 federal election may not enjoy their past good fortune, and as if it will be the

Conservatives and the CCF who will get more seats than they deserve on the voting. Hence the sudden Liberal interest in a fair electoral system. The devil was sick, the devil a saint would be.

Genuine proportional representation, i.e., the single transferable vote in a multi-member constituency returning 6-12 members, would be a desirable reform in our Canadian electoral system. That is, if we believe that it is desirable that the House of Commons should reflect fairly accurately the balance of opinion in the country. But P.R. can be applied in Canada only to large urban communities, since a rural constituency large enough to work the system would be too large in area for effective campaigning by local candidates or for effective contact and acquaintance between members and their constituents. But in the cities P.R. would return the proper proportion of Liberals, Conservatives, CCFers and Communists according to the votes they won from the electorate.

P.R. is not too difficult for the voter; all that he has to do is to mark his ballot in the order of his preference, instead of putting a simple cross opposite one name. But the method of counting the votes is undoubtedly complex, and it will probably remain incomprehensible to the ordinary Canadian until the teaching of mathematics is made more efficient in our high schools.

The objection to P.R., that it facilitates the existence of too many party groups, is a fantastic one to be raised against it here in Canada, considering the number of groups that we have already under the old orthodox system of our grandfathers. We agree with all right-thinking people that the two-party system of our English-speaking countries is on the whole a better technique for working the politics of democracy than the multi-party system of Europe. But the present breakdown in the two-party system in Canada, and its breakdown in any other country, is due to deeper and more complex causes than the mere mechanism of voting procedure. The two old Canadian parties were satisfactory enough as long as all that most Canadians wanted was continuous economic expansion under the leadership of business men with most of the glory and the profits going to the big business men. The rise of farmers and industrial workers into political consciousness, with their demand for a bigger share of the national income, the deep sectional and racial cleavages caused by two world wars and one long depression, these are the real factors which have brought about the disintegration of the old two-party system. The presence or absence of P.R. has nothing to do with these underlying causes.

What needs to be watched in Ottawa just now is the question whether, under the pretext of "reform," Mr. King will foist some phony change upon us. In particular, the likelihood is that we will be presented with a scheme for the alternative vote in single-member constituencies. This is almost completely phony. Under the present system of voting, when a constituency has three or more parties competing, a good many Liberal or Conservative or CCF members may slip into the House of Commons with the support of only a minority of their constituents. On the whole these minority representatives balance one another. The alternative vote under present conditions would mean that Liberals and Conservatives would mostly give their second preferences to each other, so that no CCFer could be elected without an absolute majority. Communists and Social Crediters would also give their second preferences to the Liberals. In the next election this would cut down the probable number of CCF members very considerably, while the Liberals would stand to do very well. In the long run, while Canada would

be saved during the immediate post-war period from the horrors of socialism and regimentation until the post-war depression hits her, this ganging up of all the other parties against the CCF would make it clear to everybody that the CCF was the only alternative government with the only alternative policy. But politicians only think about the next election.

Campaign Funds

While Mr. King's statistical experts make elaborate calculations for him concerning the voting system which will extract a maximum number of Liberal members from a possibly somewhat disappointing number of Liberal votes in the next election, may we draw his attention to another reform in our electoral procedure that is long overdue? This is in the regulation of party campaign expenditures. Canada lags far behind both the United States and Great Britain in limiting what parties may lawfully spend, and in compelling publicity both for the sources from which they get their money and for the purposes on which they spend it. Our law is still innocently unaware that there are such things as political parties. It regulates only what the individual local candidate may spend; and even in this limited field its regulations are mostly a dead letter because they contain no effective method for enforcement.

But the bulk of expenditures at election time is made by the central party machines, and modern election publicity is very expensive. The rich party has a very undemocratic advantage, to put it mildly. Moreover, in spite of Beauharnois scandals, we have never done anything in this country to compel parties to reveal where they get their money. Today we have a government about to go to the country after nearly six years of a process of awarding hundreds of the juiciest of war contracts. Does anyone suppose that many of the lucky contractors have not contributed to the building up of a great Liberal campaign fund? Of course Mr. King wouldn't know, for he has a mind above such sordid matters, and he is concentrated only on the great struggle for democracy and Christianity throughout the world. Opposed to the Liberals are the Progressive-Conservatives backed by the most sinister economic group in Canada, the Northern Ontario mining magnates. Why hasn't the CCF, which even in a fair election starts with the handicap of having practically the whole newspaper press against it, pressed this question of campaign funds upon public attention? Government by public opinion becomes a farce when rich parties have such financial facilities for "making" public opinion as flourish here in Canada in this year 1945.

Something Fresh in Radio

People who had despaired of hearing anything new or fresh on the air, who had thought that radio entertainment was doomed to remain a pale reflection of stage melodrama, vaudeville and the movies in their most stereotyped forms, should listen to the productions in Andrew Allan's "Stage 45," broadcast on Sunday evenings over the CBC national network. These dramatic sketches show that originality is attainable when writers and producers employ the new medium imaginatively, and that Canada has the kind of talent to do it. The little playlets have no purpose but to entertain. Yet they differ as widely from stock radio entertainment as does a third-rate copy of Landseer's Stag at Bay from a painting by Tom Thomson. Their effect is like

a draught from a mountain rill to one brought up on Toronto's chlorinated tap water. Taking the work of talented young script writers (and sometimes his own), Mr. Allan employs voice modulation, timing and background sounds to create situations and atmosphere that are almost visual, attaining vividness and freshness without superficial smartness. That is not to say these productions are perfect; and the transition from the stock beef and kidney pie to this delicate fare may be too sudden for some. But they are a step in the right direction, and one of the best things about them is that they are experimental. The CBC is to be congratulated on giving (at last) the kind of encouragement and scope to Canadian creative talent that make such broadcasts possible. With men like Morley Callaghan and Andrew Allan giving their minds to a genuine vivification of its programs, the CBC bids fair to become truly educational on both the discussion and entertainment planes.

Our Benevolent Bankers

It is unfortunate, just when our bank presidents are being most voluble about the high principles and social beneficence of their institutions, and when one of the Big Four is using expensive newspaper space to laud its treatment of demobilized employees, that a Superior Court judge in Montreal should see fit to hint that these protestations do not necessarily jibe with practice. It seems that a Banque Canadienne Nationale clerk, receiving the princely wage of \$11 a week, had the temerity to appeal the refusal of a \$10,000 reward offered by the Canadian Bankers' Association, after he had fatally wounded a bandit in an attempted holdup in 1942. The refusal was based on the grounds that the application was not filed within the stipulated one-month interval, that the Association had reserved the right of grant or refusal as it saw fit, and that it had ruled that a bank employee whose own bank was the object of the holdup could not receive a reward. The judge, in refusing the application with obvious regret, remarked: "I would have liked to find a legal point so as to grant the demand," and in a foolishly idealistic appeal to the bankers added: "It is to be hoped that the defendant will retract the decision it has made in this case to adhere strictly to the letter of the contract without taking into account natural justice and equity which the plaintiff invokes." We have not heard that this plea has moved the bankers to the extent of drawing on some of their hidden reserves to satisfy the demands of "natural justice and equity."

Reading Material for 1945

There are some American journals which should be better known on this side of the line. Foremost is the monthly *Common Sense* (10 East 49th St., New York, 17; Canadian subscription agent—the Canadian Forum Book Service, 28 Wellington St. W., Toronto, Ont., \$2.50 a year [\$3.00 in Canada]). *Common Sense* is cooler than the *Nation* or the *New Republic*, and less given to kidding itself along towards the millenium by its own wishful thinking. Then the new monthly *Politics*, edited by Dwight Macdonald, should be mentioned (45 Astor Place, New York, 3; \$2.80 a year). Mr. Macdonald broke away a little more than a year ago from his colleagues on the *Partisan Review* who have gone literary and aesthetic. *Politics* is a radical socialist journal, opposed to American participation in the present war. Mr. Macdonald is going about with a lantern looking for an honest socialist movement in the United States, and in the

meantime enjoying himself by pouring a constant stream of sarcastic criticism upon the "lib-labs" of the *Nation* and the *New Republic*. He obviously suffers from some deep psychological urge to despise the bulk of his fellow men, but his journal is the liveliest that comes out of New York just now.

The Position of Britain

► THE period of coalition government in Britain is clearly about at an end. Labor has announced that it will fight the next election as an independent party, and the only question that now remains is as to the occasion on which it will retire from the government. No doubt coalition was inevitable in the life-or-death crisis of 1940. But Mr. Churchill has managed to make use of it so that in the give and take of party relations he and the Conservatives have done most of the taking while the giving has fallen chiefly to the lot of Labor. It is difficult, looking back now, to recall cases in which the Conservatives have given in for the sake of preserving national unity.

In the Cabinet the Labor leaders have played a very secondary role. Ernest Bevin is now a full-fledged imperialist, though anyone who saw him at the British Commonwealth Relations Conference in Australia before the war would know that he had been corralled into the imperialist fold long before he fell under Mr. Churchill's spell. Mr. Attlee becomes more and more insignificant; someone at the recent Labor Party Conference called him "vegetarian," and it would be hard to improve on this description. The longer the coalition survives from now on, the more discredited will the Labor part of it become, compelled as they are to acquiesce in policies, such as that on Greece, in which no sincere or intelligent Labor man can possibly believe. So that when Labor does win a divorce from this increasingly difficult marriage, it is not likely to find itself very happy in its new freedom. Mr. Churchill will undoubtedly choose the moment most favorable to himself to force the break, and Labor will fight the first post-war election under the most disadvantageous circumstances.

Nevertheless the freedom and independence of the British Labor Party is immensely important for all of us who want liberal and democratic causes to win their way in the councils of the United Nations. There can be no corrective to the Machiavellian power politics now being pursued unless those who support opposed policies can find some rallying point somewhere among the Big Three. In the United States there is no regular opposition party. In spite of the supposed liberal victory in the recent American elections, President Roosevelt has gone right ahead appeasing conservative forces, constructing a conservative big-business Department of State, just as if the P.A.C. had never existed and as if both the *Nation* and the *New Republic* had not demonstrated to him by incontrovertible statistics that he would not have been re-elected without liberal and New Deal support. American Labor itself is hopelessly split, and the A.F. of L. is refusing to work with the British trade unions in their efforts to reconstruct a united international Labor front. All the hopes of carrying the United Nations organizations in the liberal direction during the next few years will focus upon the British Labor party.

If British Labor proves to be vigorous, courageous and imaginative it may work as an effective counter-agent against a British imperialism based upon fear. And its example may be of some help in saving the United States from an imperial-

ism based upon overweening self-confidence. It may provide the bridge to maintain contact between the Anglo-American and the Russian peoples. If it fails, our outlook is dark indeed.

To judge from reports of the Labor party conference last December, the prospects are not too encouraging. A large part of British Labor has been infected with Vansittartism, and no genuine international socialist policy is possible from men in such a state of mind. On other points the Conference showed a rank-and-file insurgency constantly being thwarted or opposed by the official timidity of the executive. On the subject of Greece the executive managed to get through an innocuous resolution which carefully avoided condemnation of Mr. Churchill's activities. The membership broke away when it came to discuss domestic policy, and insisted on adding an out-and-out declaration for socialization of the main industries to the executive resolution which was cautiously confining itself to language about state controls. On India the Conference insisted on declaring its acceptance of Indian independence (instead of dominion status within the Commonwealth) if the Indians want it. This insurgency is a hopeful sign, but a great democratic national party can get nowhere without leadership. It is significant that when the Conference elected to the party executive the most brilliant and destructive House of Commons critic of Churchillian policies, Aneurin Bevan, the prevalent comment on this step was not to wonder whether the Labor party was going leftward but whether the old hands would be able within the next year to tame Mr. Bevan.

Is the English public as a whole going leftward? Before the war Labor's normal share of the vote was 35-40%. A Gallup poll of last December reports that only 58% of the voters have made up their minds how they are going to vote after the war, that 27% are for Labor and 17% for the Conservatives. How will the undecided 42% go? Almost everything depends upon the kind of leadership that the Labor party displays. The present government has committed itself far enough towards policies of Social Security and Full Employment for the Conservatives to be able to say plausibly that on these two fundamentals of post-war reconstruction they offer as much as Labor. And the Conservatives have a policy for restoring British prosperity, upon which they have already embarked, which is definite and concrete, while Labor has no clear alternative.

The real choice of policies on which the British people will have to decide is, in fact, one that is not likely to be very clearly defined in party controversy. It is between seeking their post-war livelihood in a renewed expanded twentieth-century imperialism and drastically reconstructing their whole productive machinery at home.

The economic difficulties which face Britain can hardly be exaggerated. Her recovery depends upon greatly increased export markets. In 1943 the volume of British exports was only one-third of what it had been in 1938, which was not a good year; and experts are agreed that it must be built up to be 50% greater than it was in 1938, since Britain can no longer depend on income from overseas investments but on the contrary has to meet interest payments on an enormous external debt accumulated during the war. In seeking these markets she faces a world which has industrialized itself everywhere in the areas where her best markets used to be. She faces the sternest competition from the United States, as recent controversies about aviation, shipping and currency stabilization have made clear. While intelligent Americans are agreed that it is an American interest to get

Britain back on her feet again, there seems little likelihood that any possible American Congress will be willing to translate this general principle into particular concrete action to help British commercial competitors.

In such circumstances it is natural that many Britishers are strongly tempted to seek a way out through a revived imperialism. Not enough attention has been paid on this side of the ocean to what is really involved in British projects for a Western European union. The European countries whom the British are inviting into their parlor are nearly all countries with very rich overseas empires—France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Portugal. A consolidation of these empires, the exploitation of their resources by combined efforts directed from London, a sterling bloc, special trade agreements, all this would achieve a more or less closed and sheltered economic system in the development of which Britain might look forward to recovering her old nineteenth-century prosperity.

The difficulty about such schemes, supposing the other European countries agree to go into them, is of course that any European imperialism in Asia and Africa after this war will face strong opposition from the people ruled and also from the United States. One can already foresee the American Canning who will call in a new world to redress the balance of the old, and who will find in countries across the Pacific his balance to European reaction, just as the English Canning found his balance in countries across the Atlantic.

But there is a further difficulty in the economic position of Britain herself. A sheltered imperial economy will not in the long run solve the real British problem, which is the inefficiency of the whole British productive machinery. A British mission of the cotton textile industry recently returned from the United States with the report that British production per man-hour falls below that of the United States by 18-49% in spinning and 56-67% in weaving. This is due to the lack of modern machinery in Britain and to the presence of younger, more scientific managers in the American factories. According to the *Economist*, which preaches to its British readers on this subject nearly every week, a similar picture would be true for the building industries, for coal mining, and probably for the whole of British industry. British agriculture has recovered the prosperity which it enjoyed in the far-off days before 1873, but only at the expense of heavy subsidies from the state. According to the *Economist* again, the experts find that British agriculture is fundamentally inefficient because of the small size of the farms and that a proper reorganization could not be carried out without nationalization of agricultural land.

Reorganization in all fields involves a large measure of state intervention and a fairly ruthless overriding of vested private interests. This, in fact, is needed in the interests of British democracy as well as in the interests of economic efficiency. The alternative is not so much private enterprise against socialization, as enterprise, both public and private, against unenterprise and routine. But the English governing classes have so long been accustomed to the position and the prestige of ruling over other people at home and abroad that they are not likely to adjust themselves to the needs of this situation very readily. Empire will seem a way out to them, as it does to Mr. Churchill at present. Whether the Labor party has the energy and the capacity to lead the British people away from these dreams of empire towards the building up of an efficiently functioning social democracy at home remains to be seen.

World Organization for Peace

Lewis Duncan

I. Summary

► THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS of mankind cannot be conducted in peace or toward peace by separate political units. Peace in its positive aspect of prosperity and in its negative aspect of absence from war can only be attained through unity of political action at the international level. The first step toward that objective is the calling of a convention representative of the Allied Nations, or of such as wish to attend, to provide for the election of a parliament to look after the international affairs of their peoples.

The plain people everywhere desire peace more than national sovereignty. Peace is within their grasp provided their leaders have international vision, and refuse to be subservient to those interests which profit from the continued fragmentation of humanity into national units.

II. The Political World

In 1919 the League of Nations was created with the view of bringing order into a chaotic world of 73 sovereign states. The League inherited an international framework which had emerged in the day of the bow and arrow, but which was inappropriate to the day of the tank, the aeroplane and Big Bertha. The League was a simulacrum of government for it was given no power except the power to recommend, and it disposed of no armed forces.

This was an unworkable arrangement. Authority and power are not divisible. He who would pull the trigger must hold the gun. After the invasions of Manchuria, Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia, it was plain to all that the League principle was unworkable. It was also plain to those who looked below the surface that the international affairs of mankind could not be conducted in peace or toward peace by separate political units. Why was this? To answer that question let us first consider what is meant by peace.

III. Positive and Negative Aspects of Peace

Peace has two aspects, one positive, the other negative. In its positive aspect peace depends on the creation of conditions of social, economic and racial justice throughout the earth. This involves the raising of standards of living in backward areas, and the production of conditions under which prosperity is possible generally. To bring this about international planning and international execution are both required. But international planning on the proper scale can no more be done by national governments than national planning can be done by civic or provincial governments; and execution is a still more formidable task.

As between sovereign states the execution of a plan is dependent on co-operation. But the operation of the principle of co-operation is subject to grave limitations. Each state has what amounts to a veto on any proposal. What emerges from this cumulative veto process is the dust which has passed the meshes of 50 national sieves. Even that minute product may be blown to the four winds by a subsequent change of mind of one of the national legislatures concerned. Peace in its positive aspect cannot be established through the co-operative action of sovereign states. Something more is required.

Peace in its negative aspect depends on the absence of fear. But the fear of aggression will persist while each state is free to develop its own instruments and agencies of destruction. Under such a system some states will seek

to increase their armed forces, or to improve their strategic position. Such action is inevitable; for power politics will persist in an unorganized world. Peace can not be established in its negative aspect by a present intention to co-operate. Something more permanent is required.

Can something permanent be developed? There are two possible approaches to world organization. One is through national sovereignty. The other is through an abatement of national sovereignty. These exhaust the field. Let us examine their technical characteristics.

IV. National Sovereignty

As between sovereign states no arrangement can be permanent; for sovereignty implies an unfettered right to withdraw from any arrangement at any time. Attempts to give permanence to relations between sovereign states have taken a variety of forms over a long period of time. There have been treaties, alliances, leagues of nations, ententes and functional committees. These arrangements have one common defect; they can be rescinded at any time; for they rest in covenant without sanction.

In ancient times a treaty was cut in stone. This gave permanence to the document, if not to the contract. In modern times the tradition has continued; for a treaty now takes the form of a parchment bearing seals, ribbons, and signatures. It records the intention of the High Contracting parties. But, regardless of its terms, either party can withdraw from any treaty at will. When the intention of either party changes, the document becomes the record of a past state of mind. Peace can not be founded on treaty.

An alliance is a formal arrangement with a warlike or a defensive object. It is usually made by treaty. Peace cannot issue from alliances.

A league is a formal arrangement between a number of nations of a more general type than an alliance. The league document takes the form of a multiple treaty. It bears more signatures, more seals and more ribbons than a simple treaty. It is sometimes signed under Klieg lights. But pomp does not give permanence; and a multiple treaty is as frangible as a bi-lateral treaty. No league of nations can give peace.

An entente is a device resorted to in the delicate game of diplomacy when it is desired to have the substance, or the appearance of substance without the inconveniences of a formal document. As the terms of an entente may not be known to all the members of a government, misunderstandings as to its implications may arise among members of a government, and even between the governments concerned. There is no permanence in ententes.

Functional committees are agencies set up by co-operating governments to perform a task or function. When the governments cease to co-operate the agency withers away. Peace cannot be founded on committee action by separate political units.

At Bretton Woods a conference of delegates recommended certain action on international currency and banking. At Dumbarton Oaks a plan was drafted for the maintenance of peace by the use of force. At Chicago a scheme was drawn up for the conduct of international aviation. Other plans have been evolved in a similar way on oil, shipping, relief and agriculture. All these have value as temporary devices for the solution of pressing problems. They give time. They have no higher value; for peace cannot issue from them.

This fact must be made clear to the people of the democracies, so that they can work toward a permanent solution on other lines. The humbug about the League of Nations for which democratic statesmen were responsible put the people to sleep; it nearly cost them their liberties. The

safety of the people lies in knowledge. If they are given the facts they will be ready for the great solution before their political leaders.

V. International Government

The alternative approach to world organization is by abatement of sovereignty. By this is meant the transfer of a portion of the legislative power exercised by national parliaments (such for example as the right to raise an army) to another governing body. "Abatement of sovereignty" is not a happy phrase, for it suggests the yielding of something to which the legislature is entitled as of right. "Transfer of sovereignty" would be more apt; for the people are the sovereign authority. If the legislative power is distributed between two agencies, one dealing with international affairs, the other with national affairs, there has been a reduction of national legislative jurisdiction, but no loss of the peoples' sovereignty.

The approach to peace by government is the only approach which will give peace. To test that statement let us examine the record. Government is an institution developed by man to exclude war from a particular area, and to permit the orderly development of law. In primitive times the patriarch governed his tents; by so doing he created an islet of peace in the sea of war. When government was extended to the tribe the islets became islands; and war was driven out of the tribal area. But the ancients were not content to submit to the recurring slaughter of tribal wars; and they extended government to the national level. When that was accomplished tribal wars ceased; the areas of peace and law were enlarged; and war was driven into the lawless areas between nations.

The fourth great advance was made on this continent in 1787 at Philadelphia. The problem which faced the people of that day, was to produce a system of government under which there could be both collective security and local autonomy. That problem was solved by dividing the political field into two parts. Jurisdiction over the armed forces and other matters of common concern was confided to a central parliament; while jurisdiction over matters of local concern was given to local legislatures. Through the operation of this simple device thirteen small states lying on the eastern seaboard of North America accomplished the miracle of expanding in peace across a continent and in multiplying into a federation of 48 states.

The federal principle is not exhausted in the area of the state. It can be applied to both continental and world areas. The organization of the world on this principle contemplates democratic government at five levels, namely, municipal, provincial, national, continental and international, with each government having jurisdiction over its appropriate group of subject matters. When the federal principle is applied at the continental level (by the creation, for example, of the United States of Europe), and at the international level by creation of the United States of the World, peace will have been established on an enduring foundation. If peace can be had on these terms why should it not be had?

VI. Plain People and Politicians

There are three reasons why no serious attempt has been made to organize international government. Down to comparatively recent times nationalism was associated with the struggle for freedom. This conception persisted until 1919. At Versailles it was assumed that there was a peculiar virtue in national self-determination; and an attempt was made to organize the world on that basis. What was overlooked was the fact that the interest of the individual lies in the international as well as in the national field. It has taken a

second world war to demonstrate that unfettered nationalism is a destructive principle.

The second reason is that powerful vested interests which now profit from the national divisions of mankind are opposed to the organization of government at the international level. Manufacturers, who originally obtained tariff privileges by the infant industry argument, now look on national tariffs as a permanent institution; armament firms and the producers of certain minerals are organized to take advantage of national fears and antipathies; certain banking and financial interests profit from the absence of a world currency and a world bank; cartels operate freely in the international area where there is no law; and sections of the press reap a rich harvest from international discord and war.

Third, these interests are influential with the politicians. Their views are considered when party policy is being decided; they may have their representatives in Parliament or Congress, and in the Government itself; and they contribute to the campaign funds of parties and of individuals.

Political parties which accept large campaign contributions from big business are not free agents. Rotten boroughs were the problem in the time of George III; and they divided England from America. Rotten parties are the problem in the time of George VI; and they divide mankind. The plain people everywhere prefer peace to national sovereignty.

VII. CCF and International Government

At the recent National Convention of the CCF held in Montreal the following clause was unanimously approved as part of the CCF manifesto on Foreign Relations:

"Future wars cannot be avoided without the establishment of a government at the international level, democratically representative of all the peoples, great and small, and endowed with the paramount powers necessary to maintain the peace and to provide economic justice and equality of opportunity among the peoples of the world."

At the same time the Convention approved the following Resolution:

"Whereas alliances, the League of Nations, and the attempts to maintain the balance of power have failed to preserve world peace;

Be It Resolved that the Canadian government should take the initiative in promoting the idea of an International Government representative of all peoples and work towards the establishment of a world authority which shall have jurisdiction over:

- (a) Vital natural resources and their utilization for the benefit of all the peoples;
- (b) International Labor standards;
- (c) World currency and the organization of international trade and investment;
- (d) The establishment of minimum international standards of education;
- (e) The administration of backward areas with a view to educating them for self-government as soon as possible;
- (f) An international police force for the purpose of the enforcement of international law;
- (g) World Postal, Airways, and other Communication Systems."

Some criticism may be levelled at the phrasing of the resolution, and at its description of powers, but these are minor matters. The principle of the resolution is sound. It marks a great advance in political thought and practice. The CCF is the first major party anywhere to endorse the principle of the extension of democratic government to

international affairs. It was able to do so because it draws its financial support from the people and not from the interests.

VIII. Peace

The predominating wish of mankind is for security; security of employment; security from exploitation from within; security from aggression from without. The capitalistic system and the capitalistic political parties failed miserably to give internal security. They have failed tragically in the international sphere.

Today the youth of the world is being blasted, mutilated and burned on the altar of national sovereignty. Men and women everywhere are crying out against this senseless sacrifice to national gods. The people want peace and security more than anything else. They will give immense support in every country to the political party which will lead them out of the Valley of Fire to a land of international brotherhood and peace. The opportunity so to serve mankind is within the grasp of the socialist parties throughout the world. This is their greatest task. Let them put in the forefront of their policy the union of mankind under institutions controlled directly by the people. When that has been accomplished all else will be secure; until it is done all else is in jeopardy.

The Lessons of the German Counter-offensive

P. M. Brown

► FIELD MARSHAL VON RUNDSTEDT'S bold counter-offensive came as a rude shock to a public which for months had been fed on stories picturing Germany as out-generated, outbombed, torn by internal dissension and definitely beaten. While our attention has been focused on great but indecisive battles which she had lost both in the east and west, we neglected to see—or the experts neglected to inform us—that all the while she had conducted a skillful reversion to a defensive strategy which for the time being seems to have strengthened her military position.

In fact, the German retreat from Russia was a brilliantly conducted manoeuvre which extricated the bulk of the Nazi army time and time again from threatening Russian encirclements and finally came to a standstill on a line roughly of its own choosing. It is true that the Russians were able to frustrate the German hope of hinging their line of defense on the bend of the Eastern Carpathians, which meant the loss of Rumania and Hungary and brought the Soviet armies to the approaches of Austria. But from the Carpathians to the Baltic Sea the Germans held fast.

There has been a lot of talk recently that the Soviets, for political reasons, had not started their offensive in order to help her allies in the west. This is dangerous nonsense. The Russian summer offensive was actually started on July 23 and rolled to the gates of Warsaw before it was stopped, just as the Anglo-American armies stalled at the Reich border after the defeat of Rommel in Normandy. Unfortunately, Russian propaganda has for reasons connected with the Polish issue beclouded this plain fact. It has been little observed that the much publicized uprising in Warsaw which ended so tragically was paralleled by the equally tragic defeat of the uprising in Slovakia because the Soviet troops were unable to penetrate the Carpathian mountain passes guarding this

difficult terrain. All of which shows that the Soviet troops actually tried to aid their western allies by a break-through of the direct approaches to Germany but were held by determined Nazi resistance. A new Russian attempt is imminent at the present moment. Similarly in the west the Germans were able to extricate masses of their best troops from allied encirclement after having lost the battle of France, and to throw them into their western defense system where they could be reformed, re-equipped and reinforced.

The present German counter-offensive is thoroughly in line with sound defensive principles. The hackneyed comparison of Germany with a "fortress" under siege is perfectly true even in a strictly military sense. Thus von Rundstedt's bold stroke against the American First Army is far from being an "offensive of despair" like the German offensive of 1918, but is comparable rather to a "sortie" or a series of "sorties" in the sense of classical siege warfare. The aim of such a "sortie" is not merely to gain territory. The Nazi marshal's choice of the particular First Army sector for his offensive made it clear from the outset that he could not have harbored any such insane hopes as to retake Paris or even Brussels. The goal of a "sortie" is at its maximum to break the siege, at its minimum to obstruct the plans of the besieger for a break-through of the defender's fortifications. Rundstedt's "sortie" has already achieved the minimum objective. He has averted or at least considerably delayed the allied winter offensive by which it was hoped to bring the war to an end in spring or early summer. His task now must be to bring the most valuable part of his assault army, especially his panzer divisions, safely back into the Westwall fortifications. If he were to succeed with that he would win a considerable defensive victory in spite of the loss of the newly reconquered territory. If, however, the allied armies are able to cut his spearhead to pieces and to destroy the bulk of his armor, von Rundstedt's ability for further "sallies" would be seriously crippled although one should not again underestimate the strength of the German reserves.

But when all that is said and Germany's defensive strength is duly appreciated there still remains the fact that she can only prolong the war—not win it. It is only natural that the Nazi gang—whether it be led by Himmler or Hitler—wants to live a few months longer. They behave like condemned criminals who cling to life, however short the respite may be. But the mind of a whole nation does not work that way nor do the minds of military realists of the Prussian school like von Rundstedt's. To read the mind of a whole nation is a difficult task. We do not and can not know what the German people think, but one thing is clear: allied policy has done nothing to counteract Goebbels' propaganda of fear which undoubtedly is the greatest single factor in keeping the German people in the war. On the contrary! Irresponsible and often foolishly uninformed magazine articles have been permitted to take the place of an agreed and officially announced policy of the allied nations. Each of these articles was presented by Goebbels to the German people as the real and irrevocable policy of the allies towards a defeated Germany.

Moreover, no nation has yet deliberately laid down her arms without important social groups hoping to be either exempted from the consequences of defeat or actually to gain socially and politically by the overthrow of the country's war government. This was the case with Russian and partly with German labor during the last war and with the "collaborationist" elements of the French ruling classes in 1940. In implying—because no official program for Germany has been decided upon—that the whole German people will have to suffer for the criminality of the Nazis the allies have

deliberately abstained from using political means to shorten the war. This policy may be debatable but it leaves the German nation no other course but to fight to the bitter end.

The minds of the von Rundstedts run in more subtle circles. They know that Germany has lost the war long ago. They do not care whether the inevitable capitulation is "conditional" or "unconditional." What they hope for is something quite different. Not without reason have Germany's best military historiographers studied what they call "wars of coalition" for the last 20 years. They know their history very well. They know that the chief danger which confronts a coalition besieging a fortress is the disunity caused by the protraction of the siege. Thus the Germans watch carefully all the numerous signs of clashes of interests and the growing mutual distrust between the allied nations as the prolongation of the war confronts them with mounting social, economic and territorial problems. They cannot expect that this disunity will prevent the defeat of Germany nor soften the peace terms. But what they have every reason to look forward to is a break-up of the allied war coalition during the years after the war when the conditions of peace will have to be enforced in Germany. They hope that by a split of the United Nations into hostile factions Germany again may have a chance, if not to make war, at least to evade the consequences of her defeat. It is for this reason that the von Rundstedts and Himmlers are united today in protracting the war: so that the poison of disunity and distrust may have time to work itself deeper and deeper into the political system of the allied powers.

We are told that a meeting between the heads of the three great powers will be held "soon." We frankly confess that we do not look forward with any great expectations to such a meeting. Of course, certain differences of a temporary nature will be ironed out and new agreements will be reached. But it is not so difficult after all for the "Big Three" to reach an agreement at the conference table. More often than not the trouble starts when, after such a conference, each power puts into effect its own interpretation of these agreements. As essential as may be the personal contact of the heads of the great power governments it can only afford the opportunity for the framing of their policies. But to carry them out permanent political instruments are needed, interpreting mutual agreements in day-to-day negotiations and putting them into effect. If Messrs. Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt at their impending meeting again neglect this urgent task, the hopes of the von Rundstedts in protracting the war are nearer to realization than most of us care to think.

Sonnet to Inconstancy

Stay in this moment, vagrant seeking mind
this moment neither beautiful nor wise
stay here beneath these dull but steady skies
here in this present neither cruel nor kind.
Cease rushing ever restively away
tangent-like darting moonward from this sphere
endlessly searching frenzied far and near
some other moment from some other day.
Now is the space of time where thought is found
the still immortal momentary peace
soft-breathing quiet love that does not cease
where calm of contemplation floats profound.
There will be moments brilliant sweet or strong.
Stay in this timeless time where you belong.

Murray Bonmycastle.

Quebec: Watchful Waiting

Gordon O. Rothney

► ON NOVEMBER 23, 1944, an order was issued in Ottawa forcing young Canadians once more to fight in Europe against their wills. To prevent this very thing has been the major political concern of the majority of the people in Quebec since 1917, one of their chief considerations when casting their votes. Their efforts have been in vain.

Their reaction so far has been one of watchful waiting. Premier Duplessis, the leaders of the Bloc, and *Le Devoir* urged the people to resist their first impulses, to refrain from useless violence, to wait rather until their feelings calmed, and until legal means of protest presented themselves.

The first of these legal acts of protest came on November 27, when Hon. C. G. Power publicly announced his resignation as Minister of National Defense for Air. The Quebec Government followed on November 30 with an "energetic and firm protest" through an order-in-council claiming from the federal authorities "integral respect of the formal pledges contracted and the sacred promises made . . . in opposition to conscription, whether disguised or apparent, for overseas service." Mr. Godbout, Leader of the Provincial Opposition, also protested against Mr. Mackenzie King's "inexplicable" decision. On December 7, most of the Quebec delegation in the House of Commons broke from their party and voted no confidence in a federal government headed by men whom they had been elected to support and in defense of whom they had often campaigned. And on December 11 the people of Montreal elected Mr. Camillien Houde, fresh from an internment camp, to resume, as their mayor, the career which had been so rudely interrupted in 1940. Whatever one's own views may be, it is futile to ignore the intensity of feeling which exists in Quebec. More than ever it is important to try to understand exactly what this reaction means, and to consider realistically what new problems for the future of Canada the developments of the past few weeks have created.

First of all, certain observations can be made concerning the position taken in December by the Quebec members of the House of Commons. They were, of course, (like the members from Prince Edward Island) unanimously opposed to the Graydon amendment which would have required "all N.R.M.A. personnel . . . to serve in any theatre of war." But there the unanimity ended. They did not (like the members from Prince Edward Island) vote solidly on the other motions.

Quebec has its differences of opinion on this issue, just as do most of the other provinces. Her members voted, actually, in four different ways: group (a) numbering 31, voted for the Jean sub-amendment and against the Prime Minister's motion; group (b) numbering 10, voted for the sub-amendment and then, upon its defeat, supported the Prime Minister's motion; group (c) numbering 8, gave full support to "the Government in maintaining a vigorous war effort" by voting against the sub-amendment and for the main motion, thus adopting the same attitude as the CCF; and group (d) numbering 4, opposed both the sub-amendment and the motion. Hon. Alphonse Fournier and Mr. Marier voted for Mr. King's motion, but failed to express themselves on the sub-amendment.

A clear majority of the Quebec members belong to group (a). It includes Hon. P. J. A. Cardin who until 1942 was Mackenzie King's Minister of Public Works and of Transport, and Mr. Blanchette who seconded the motion to declare war on Germany in 1939, as well as Mr. Raymond and

his fellow members of the Canadian Popular Bloc. Representing the Province of Quebec, this group supported the Jean sub-amendment which stated:

that the government has not made certain of adequate and continuous trained reinforcements by using to the best advantage the general service personnel in Canada and the volunteers overseas *without resorting to conscription for service overseas.*

That is what the representatives of Quebec believe. And as they have lost confidence in the Mackenzie King government, they refuse any longer to aid it "in maintaining a vigorous war effort," to use its own phrase. Obviously this is neither a specifically Quebec nor exclusively French-Canadian point of view. In fact, it actually received the votes, not only of the member from Prescott, Ontario, but also of Mr. Wallace R. McDonald and Mr. Robert Ryan, Canadians of Scotch and Irish descent, respectively. It is simply an attitude on a Canadian problem which happens to be held more widely in Quebec than in the other provinces.

Group (b) represents the majority opinion of the delegation from the Island of Montreal, including Mr. Jean. These men are still trying to oppose the ministry and to support it at the same time, hoping that somehow the Liberal party will save itself, and fearful that if Mackenzie King were upset, the Toronto mentality might then prevail. So long as he does not give the Progressive Conservatives quite all the conscription they want, he can perhaps be pictured as the lesser of two evils. In most of the provinces this would be mere shadow boxing, but there may be just enough Brackenites in Montreal to give the argument some weight on the Island.

Group (c) continues to support the government without any reservation. The four cabinet ministers which it includes, Messrs. St. Laurent, Ernest Bertrand, LaFlèche, and Claxton, have failed to retain the confidence even of their own Liberal followers from Quebec, to say nothing of the population in the province at large.

Finally, group (d) is small but important, for it is the closest politically to the provincial government. The National Union is, of course, much stronger today than it was at the time of the last federal general election in 1940. At that time Mr. Duplessis was merely Leader of the Opposition in Quebec. Consequently these four members can claim that their strength in the House of Commons gives little indication of the importance which their friends now enjoy throughout the province. One member of the group, Mr. Dorion, is organizer-in-chief of the Independents' Movement, the name under which supporters of the National Union campaign in the federal field. As an Independent, Mr. Dorion took Charlevoix-Saguenay from the Liberals at a by-election in 1942. His colleague, Mr. Roy, was the only non-Liberal elected in Quebec in the general election of 1940. When Mr. Roy left the Conservative party in 1941 "because it had gone back to conscriptionist policy," and became an Independent, he ended the alliance between French-speaking *bleus* and English-speaking "Tories" which had existed since 1854, and thus completed a process which Mr. Duplessis had begun when he merged the provincial Conservative party into a National Union in 1936. The other two members of this group, Mr. Lacombe and Mr. LaCroix, are both former Liberals. On September 9, 1939, during the debate on the Government's proposed declaration of war on Germany, they moved, in amendment, "that Canada should refrain from participating in any external war." When the Prime Minister introduced the National

Resources Mobilization bill in 1940, they accused the government of breaking its election promises, and were not impressed by the clause restricting conscription to service in Canada. On the motion for second reading, their amendment declaring that "the war policy of the Canadian government must remain free, voluntary and moderate" was ruled out of order. In committee of the whole a similar motion by Mr. Lacombe was ruled out of order on the ground that it referred to more than the particular clause of the bill which was under discussion at the moment. The speaker, having put the question whether the ruling should be sustained, was just declaring that "the ayes have it," when the Prime Minister called out, "Have a vote." Mr. Lacombe and Mr. LaCroix were outnumbered by 202 to 2. "I thought, and I still think, that the time has come when the country should know exactly where some men stand on all-important measures such as this," explained Mr. Mackenzie King. But the country still did not know, because some men had assumed that they were voting merely on a matter of House procedure rather than on the principle of conscription. And some weeks later when Mr. Houde, Mayor of Canada's largest city and Independent member of the Quebec Legislature, announced where he stood on the measure, Mr. Lapointe put him in an internment camp. That discouraged further pronouncements on the matter. In 1942 Mr. Lacombe tried to form a "Canadian Party," without success. But he picked a winner when he made himself the parliamentary champion of Mr. Houde, and also when he campaigned for the National Union in 1944.

Mr. Dorion led off for the Independents on December 4th with the warning:

... you will never make Britishers out of the French Canadians. . . . Democracy, in a country like ours, cannot mean the domination of the majority over the minority; . . . otherwise it is not democracy; it is tyranny.

On December 7, Mr. Roy explained:

This sub-amendment is confusing; it seems to blame the government for not imposing conscription in time; therefore I will vote against it.

And Wilfrid LaCroix added (translation):

I shall therefore vote against all amendments and sub-amendments, as well as against the main motion, because I have always opposed and still oppose every form of participation.

Mr. Dorion was reproved by Mr. Maxime Raymond for spreading the impression "that only one or two members opposed participation" in 1939, when, for example, "Mr. Woodsworth . . . had delivered one of the most courageous and energetic speeches heard in this house on that occasion." This led Liguori Lacombe to make a characteristically intemperate attack on the leader of the Bloc, accusing him, in voting for the Jean sub-amendment, of having "supported participation and mobilization." It was, therefore, in an effort to show that they were more opposed to the ministry than was any other group, that the Independents found themselves voting with the government against the proposition supported by the majority of their fellow members from Quebec.

With the debate at Ottawa concluded, interest shifted to the civic elections in Montreal. The issue was not conscription nor the war, for the two candidates held approximately the same views on those questions. Mayor Raynault was National Union in politics, but Mr. Houde, who had been a lone wolf since Mr. Duplessis replaced him as leader of the Quebec Conservative party in 1933, is a sworn enemy of

both the federal and provincial governments and their electoral machines. He was opposed by newspapers ranging from the most imperialistic to the most anti-conscriptionist. He ended his campaign with an uncomplimentary public letter to the Archbishop of Montreal because the latter had protested against his attacks on his opponent. Only "Camillien" could have triumphed against so much opposition. Mayor Raynault's "dignity" won him the bourgeois west-end, and also the predominantly Jewish District 5. But elsewhere in the city Mr. Houde was swept back to office by an almost solid labor vote. His slogan was, "Courage, Action, Fair Play."

The significance of the result is obvious. It was the aged protest of the common man against arbitrary imprisonment. Camillien Houde, while mayor, had been interned and held for four years by the federal department of justice, without a public trial, without a specific charge, and without a definite sentence. The great majority in the city and in the province believed that he was interned in 1940 for political reasons and because he dared to say what they all believed, namely that in a democracy, if you vote for a party or government because it makes a certain promise, and if it almost immediately thereafter breaks that promise, then in that regard, whatever the law may be, you are not morally obliged to obey it. Mr. Mackenzie King himself said on more than one occasion, "the present unhappy state of the world is, in large part, the result of broken pledges." Yet in 1940 he had not even the excuse of the plebiscite to justify the introduction of military conscription. So Mr. Houde became a martyr, admired because he had dared to say publicly what most of his electors were mumbling privately, the symbol of a people who felt they had been betrayed. In 1944 they voted for him to show their sympathy, and to protest, in a constitutional manner, against an internment which they had not resisted, but which they had not forgotten. It should be realized, however, that His Worship derives only prestige from his office, since executive power in Montreal rests with a committee of the undemocratically selected city council.

It is unusual for Quebec to find herself "isolated." It may be natural for Alberta to be chronically isolated on fundamental matters of policy. But for decades Quebec has not found herself at odds with all the other provinces at once except on one issue: military conscription for overseas service. Not that she has, on the other hand, always had her own way. If one wanted to talk in such terms, it would be easier to prove that there has been "domination" by Manitoba, at least since 1926, than by Quebec. There would never have been a Bennett high-tariff regime if Quebec had had her way; but in 1930 Manitoba and some other provinces wanted it. Five years later all the provinces agreed with Quebec that Mackenzie King was better than Mr. Bennett after all. Possibly five years from now they will agree that in withdrawing her support from Mackenzie King, Quebec was right again. Time will tell. But on the whole the part which Quebec has played in the past has been much the same as that of any other normal province in confederation.

Reformers, particularly, should be careful not to succumb to any defeatist propaganda about Quebec. They should be on guard against the prevalent superficial, and false theories regarding the reasons for her attitude at the present time. The record shows that among the sections of Canada, she has not been the least receptive to new ideas. As recently as May 11, 1944, when Mr. Coldwell introduced his motion for "national ownership . . . of the chartered banks," he got

the votes of the Bloc members and Mr. Roy; but from Ontario he had only the vote of Mr. Noseworthy. Last century it was Lower Canada which took the lead in the struggle for democracy and responsible government. In 1926, when Quebec was almost solidly Liberal and Ontario almost solidly Conservative, the Prairie Provinces had to decide which was the most "progressive." All three sided with Quebec. In its most critical decisions that year the House of Commons was so evenly divided that the two Labor members from Winnipeg had it in their power to settle the issue one way or the other. Both Mr. Woodsworth and Mr. Heaps, later founders of the CCF, voted consistently along with Mr. Bourassa, Mr. Cardin, Mr. Raymond, and the other Quebec members, against the bulk of the Ontario delegation, first to keep Mr. Meighen from replacing Mackenzie King, and then, after the irresponsible interference of the Governor-General, to get rid of the new Conservative Government. In spite of Ontario, and thanks to Quebec and the prairies, that anti-Progressive government, with its colonial attitude toward the constitution, was defeated in the elections which followed.

Although the fact may be obscured in the confusion of wartime issues, Quebec today, as so often in the past, is occupying her historic position as Canada's greatest bulwark against Tory and imperialist reaction. By way of contrast, Ontario has elevated George Drew to her premiership.

Yet, realistically, it must be admitted that Canada's future will be more difficult because of the popular disillusionment resulting from the conscription crisis. Those who advocate increased powers for the central government stand to lose the most. Quebec has come to think of Ottawa as a faithless tyrant, for what could be more tyrannical than a power which demands the lives of one's own sons, against their wills, after promising that such a demand would never be made? It will be harder than ever for the CCF to tell a Quebecer that the federal authority would use increased power to plan more efficiently for the common good, and not to browbeat minorities. He will think back to the conscription vote on December 7, 1944, and reply, "Je me souviens." There are some things more important than efficiency. The Liberals of course are better off in this respect, for their program does not call for increased centralization.

Quebec can never be induced to support that sort of an amendment to the constitution until the majority at Ottawa or some party advocating such a change, lives down the damage that has been done, and removes, not by words but by actions, the impression that the federal government is ruthless, tyrannical, and imperialistic. Quebec does not want others to force her youth to fight in Europe's wars, not even in a "people's war" for the liberation of Greece or Poland, when the great majority of her people are opposed to conscription for overseas service. She cannot be expected to trust those who supported such a policy.

On March 22, 1926, J. S. Woodsworth moved in the House of Commons that "Canada should refuse to accept any responsibility for complications arising from the foreign policy of the United Kingdom." That motion, of course, was not adopted. But whatever else may be said, this much is certain: that if it ever were accepted by the Parliament and people of Canada, and genuinely put into practice, it would eliminate the principal cause of our disunity. Canada is the only thing we all have in common. We cannot be Canadians and colonialists at the same time. We are not Canadians if we let either the British Conservative Party or the British Labor Party do our thinking for us in international affairs.

It will be hard to recover the ground that has been lost, but if we redouble our efforts to co-operate on a Canadian basis, to understand, respect, and really appreciate each other, it can be done.

Canadian Equation

A.R.M.L. with the assistance of C.M.

► AT THE CENTRE of every cyclone, there is calm, so we are told, and at the centre of every Canadian hurricane, there is equilibrium. The winds blow, the clouds gather, the dust goes whirling round, buildings fall, and when the disturbance moves on, there sits the original centre of it all, unharmed and undisturbed. So remarkable and so invariable in our Canadian life is this phenomenon that it may be given exact mathematical expression.

All circumstances of Canadian public life, and indeed all Canadians, may be summed up in the formula $\frac{x+y}{2}=k$.

This, for a particular value of the constant k (to be determined), may be called "The Canadian Equation." A solution of this equation is a pair of values, one for x and one for y , such that the average of x and y is equal to k . About 5,500,000 such pairs of values are known (x_1, x_2, x_3 , etc., and their corresponding opposites, y_1, y_2, y_3 , etc.). That is $x+y=k$, as do $\frac{x_1+y_1}{2}, \frac{x_2+y_2}{2}$, etc., up to the total number

of about 5,500,000 examples of the pairs x and y . This large class of entities may be given the symbol (C) . $C=5,500,000 \frac{(x+y)}{2}$, or $11,000,000 \frac{(x+y)}{2}$.

The problem presented by the situation is to find, first (C) and next k . It is obvious even to the mathematical tyro that (C) is a very large quantity, being 5,500,000 times $(x+y)$. Some authorities, indeed, have been so impressed by its size that they have referred to it as "stretching from sea to sea."

The real difficulty is encountered in finding a value for k , that imperturbable centre of hurricanes, that constant so representative that it is the sum of 5,500,000 pairs divided by two, that unchanging, smiling Buddha, that paragon of averages.

To encourage a search for a solution and the determination of this most remarkable and undisplaceable constant, k , the following illustrative values may be given to x_1, x_2, x_3 , etc., and y_1, y_2, y_3 , etc.:

x_1 Colonel Ralston	y_1 Major Power
x_2 Mr. Graydon	y_2 Mr. Coldwell
x_3 Mr. Hanson	y_3 Mr. Pouliot
x_4 Rev. T. T. Shields	y_4 The Archbishop of Winnipeg
x_5 George Drew	y_5 Abbé Groulx
x_6 Arthur Meighen	y_6 Mr. Noseworthy
x_7 Cardinal Villeneuve	y_7 Tim Buck

All these pairs are such that if added together and divided by two, they would equal k . Thus $\frac{x_5+y_5}{2}=k$, that is,

George Drew and Abbé Groulx ("Les Drews et les Groulx") added up and divided by two equal k . It follows that since $(C)=11,000,000 \frac{(x+y)}{2}$ and the latter quantity equals k ,

then k also (however reluctant people may be to accept the fact) virtually equals (C) .

Whatever can be the value of k ? All good Canadians are urgently requested to find this most remarkable fixed point.

Library Service for Canada

Bertha Bassam

► OVER FIVE MILLION citizens of Canada are without any kind of public library service. This fact is emphasized by the Dominion Statistician when he says that well over one-half of the Canadian population is still without public library service, as compared with one-fourth in the United States and less than one per cent in Britain. This pitiable state of affairs has aroused to action community leaders right across Canada. The result has been that in seven provinces (Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia) extensive post-war plans for libraries have been prepared and presented to provincial authorities.

Based on these provincial statements of library needs, the Canadian Library Council at Ottawa has prepared a Brief called *Library Service for Canada*, which was presented to the House of Commons Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment. *Library Service for Canada* is an important document, national in its outlook as its title implies. In it the Canadian Library Council recommends the establishment of a Library Resources Board; a National Library Service; and provincially controlled regional library service.

This national plan for library extension in Canada emphasizes the importance of regional library service. This is obviously as it should be; for in all seven of the provincial post-war plans, regional libraries are suggested as the answer to our rural problem. Ninety-five per cent of Canada's rural population is without any public library service. Regional libraries would mean the setting up in each province of prescribed areas or regions, each having a minimum population of approximately 40,000. The library would be supported by the region, assisted by a provincial grant and in special cases by a federal grant. For a population of about 40,000 a minimum annual budget of \$25,000 is suggested. The regional library would serve the towns, villages and rural districts within the area by means of branch libraries, book deposit stations, travelling libraries and bookmobiles. All of Prince Edward Island and parts of British Columbia are now so served. This modern type of library service is in accord with the present trend toward larger administrative units for public services. The responsibility for the development and maintenance of such province-wide systems of co-ordinated libraries rests with the library agency of each provincial government. Strong provincial agencies are recommended by the Council in order that each province may be adequately served, and also that in each province there may be an organization adapted to co-operate with other provinces, and with the recommended national bodies, the National Library and the Library Resources Board.

The Library Resources Board as described in *Library Service for Canada* would be appointed by the Dominion government. Its members would be "informed on the library and community needs of the major geographical sections of the country." This Board would be the central body responsible for co-ordinating existing library service; allotting the anticipated federal grants to libraries; devising and establishing national library services including a National Library.

For more than a quarter of a century Canadians have been discussing a National Library for Canada. Some are now saying that a National Library would be the ideal war memorial. There are many now who realize that our scholars

and research workers need the services of a national institution which would be a storehouse of Canadian literature and history, and much more. It should also have a well assembled reference collection on all subjects, as well as a lending collection to which other libraries might turn when their own resources and those of the province fail. The National Library should participate in inter-library borrowing and lending in order to procure desired material for the serious reader. Furthermore, as lending is not always possible, the National Library should be equipped to make its resources available by providing microfilm, photostat, and other copying services. There are a number of other bibliographic jobs of national importance to be done in Canada, preferably under the direction of a National Library. The Library Council mentions three of these: the making of union catalogues to aid in locating printed matter; publishing the *Canadian Catalogue of Books* and the *Canadian Periodical Index*. All this, and even more, a National Library would mean to Canadians. We are one of the few remaining countries without such an institution.

Library Service for Canada is a comprehensive document suggesting ways in which books may be made available in both urban and rural districts for the serious student and the general reader. It emphasizes the need of adequate standards for library personnel if all these improved services are to be satisfactorily attained. As appendices, two interesting articles accompany the Brief. These are: "Rural Canada Needs Libraries," by Nora Bateson; and "A National Library," by Elizabeth Dafoe.

Canadian artists have also presented to the Government's Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, the need for more library service. Their *Brief Concerning the Cultural Aspects of Canadian Reconstruction* requested that a National Library be established and that public library service be extended. Furthermore, encouragement has come from the press, which reported that a national library building is to be one of the first post-war projects. There are many who will agree with the Canadian Library Council's statement that "an effective, Dominion-wide library service can make a valuable contribution toward the settlement of post-war problems of rehabilitation by providing books and audio-visual aids in training or re-training demobilized service and civilian personnel for new and old skills; by dispensing current information regarding new developments in the fields of agriculture, industry, business, and the professions; by supplying cultural, recreational, and citizenship reading."

Waterfront

Where second mates and plain hands
Spend crisis-made dividends;
Where sun peels off the fish smells
From the confusing, black walls,
And market filth is gathered
Into round piles at corners
Of acrostic streets that seem
Like the river's muscles, green:
Lean-to homes, arthritic, dank,
Have mustered at the land's brink
To spy; atlantic liners
Stand idle like cows tethered.

Irving Layton.

Films for Trade Unions

Morten Parker

► PERHAPS the most ambitious program undertaken by the National Film Board in the short life of its Trades Union Circuits has been this season's set of film showings to organized labor in Canada. The accent has been placed on discussion forums. Union members and their leaders have taken to this medium of visual information with an eagerness that speaks well for the positive role of the film in Canada.

As an organized project, the Trades Union Circuits came into existence less than two years ago. Prior to April, 1943, there have been sporadic showings to labor groups, serviced by volunteer projectionists, with films for these screenings being made available by the board. During that month, however, a joint agreement was reached between the National Film Board, the Workers' Educational Association, the Canadian Congress of Labor and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress out of which the Trades Union Circuits were formed. With the establishment of these circuits came a planned, efficient system of servicing labor's film requirements.

The merit of the new arrangement became immediately evident. The small, monthly attendance of about 1,000 persons now has grown to the monthly figures of approximately 500 showings reaching audiences well over the 50,000 mark. With the exception of Prince Edward Island, Trades Union Circuits programs are being shown in every province of the Dominion to workers' groups representing all types of employment. From the coal miners of Cape Breton to the lumberjacks of the Queen Charlottes, Canadian workers are having current world issues and vital domestic problems brought right into their union halls. They are watching and discussing the old world going and the new world a-coming.

Through the operation of the circuits, trades unionists during the past months have seen films such as "Our Northern Neighbor," a documentary dealing with the background and development of the Soviet Union to its present position in international affairs. They have seen "UNRRA—In The Wake Of The Armies," a provocative analysis of the problems facing this organization and the vast job it will have to do when the fighting stops. They have seen "Tyneside Story," a British film bringing up the whole broad issue of post-war employment.

Each of these pictures is a complete program in itself. Each is a two-reeler and the average program seldom exceeds twenty-five minutes running time. This, on casual examination, appears to be a relatively short screening. But in reality, those programs have extended for several hours.

The explanation lies in the discussion forum. Documentary films differ from the purely entertainment type of film in that they demand active audience participation. They are not ends in themselves. Their function is the presentation of facts: facts selected, organized and heightened by the dramatic nature of the visual medium. What happens to those facts as they become integrated and applied, is the business of the audiences that see the films.

The discussion forum was a natural outcome of these Trades Union showings. Steel workers, after watching a film on UNRRA, were anxious to get up on their feet and say their piece about post-war reconstruction. Lumber mill workers, seeing a documentary on the Soviet Union, wanted

to do a bit more talking about their northern neighbor. Sugar factory workers, watching a film on the dole of the thirties and employment coming with the war, were ready to examine much more closely the whole problem of peacetime jobs.

But between the desire and the reality, as Eliot has observed, falls the shadow. That shadow is a very human one. Regardless of the desire of men and women to discuss their problems in a group, the actual business of getting a discussion started seems to present many human difficulties. The physical business of getting up onto your feet to express an opinion seems fraught with complications. The chair you happen to be sitting on at the particular moment tends to assume a strangely adhesive quality.

To meet just such a situation, to overcome the initial problem of getting a discussion started, the idea of discussion trailers was incorporated into the regular plan of Trades Union screenings. Serving to introduce the forum discussion, the trailer is shown immediately following the main feature. In it, trade unionists are seen as if at a typical local meeting and under much the same conditions as the audience watching it. They have just been shown the film, say, "Tyneside Story," and now they open up on the main theme of the picture, post-war employment.

Some want to know what concrete plans have been laid for jobs in peacetime. What will be Canada's industrial requirements? Will there be jobs for soldiers coming back? Others ask whether women will continue in industry and how will such a situation affect employment. Soon questions and answers, opinions and counter-opinions come quickly from every corner and the group has entered into lively debate. The trailer over, and the spirit of discussion very much present, the "live" audience comes in for its own talk.

With discussion in view, the selection of programs becomes highly important. Each film must deal with issues both timely and significant. It must serve as a basis and a stimulus. An advisory committee consisting of representatives from the Film Board, the W.E.A. and the two Congresses review all proposed programs in advance, determine their interest and value to the labor movement and finally decide what films, of the dozens screened beforehand, will be used.

In evaluating the work of the Trades Union Circuits, a brief glance at present trends may be of interest. In increasing number, local unions are setting up educational committees to assure the full utilization of the service. Increasingly, unions are conducting special educational nights, with films and discussion as the main feature of the program. Through the W.E.A., unions are being assisted in training educational directors and discussion leaders. At summer colleges for labor members and at week-end institutes, leaders of the labor movement are zealously exploring the value and application of mass education techniques.

It is to the credit of the bodies participating in the Trades Union film project and to the membership of the labor movement at large, that so effective a medium has been adopted with such healthy enthusiasm by progressive forces in Canada.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: Recent correspondence impels us to clarify the identity of one of the contributors to our December issue. We hasten to state that John Marshall, author of the article, "On to Ottawa—or Back to the People?" is not John Marshall of the Ottawa Bureau of the Windsor Star and writer of a daily column, "Today in Ottawa." Our contributor is, nevertheless, a bona fide John Marshall.]

Film Review

D. Mosdell

► FOR YEARS Hollywood has been treating music with a genial contempt which has at least bred in the American public a certain familiarity with famous themes. Large numbers of people, for example, will never hear the William Tell overture without visualizing Mickey Mouse leading his comic orchestra, with Donald Duck playing Turkey in the Straw as a flute obbligato. When this masterpiece of combined interpretation and comment was issued, no critical objections, or even suspicions, were raised. Either nobody cared about William Tell, or the critics saw no harm in thus arbitrarily deciding what Rossini was saying, and at the same time laughing at it.

Then, in 1940, Disney produced *Fantasia*, a full-length commercial movie made up of visual program-notes for passages of descriptive music—and the storm broke. Suddenly everybody realized that listening to music is a highly personal and individual activity, and that you should no more think of using somebody else's set of visual synonyms than you would their toothbrushes. And a number of sensitive spirits were wounded, in the case of the Pastoral Symphony, by what Disney did to Beethoven: they claimed that his bibulous little Bacchus was not only revolting, but mentally almost indelible.

Responsible critics pointed out that owing to the peculiar effect of movie presentation, these program-notes, in disappointing the eye, prevented even the highly-trained ear from perceiving the rich complexity of the music—drowned it out altogether. Music-lovers foamed at the mouth; the intrinsically good idea of interpreting music to the masses, they said, had been executed rather than carried out; what else could you expect of a commercial picture factory? Music promptly returned to active service as a technical prop for narrative films.

Now all of a sudden two films about music crop up: José Iturbi, Emanuel Feuermann and others in a static little effort called *Adventures in Music*; and *The Great Mr. Handel*, an English technicolor production, with a number of unfamiliar, and proportionately effective, English actors. Each has found a method of treating good music respectfully, without giving themselves away by any attempt to suggest what the composer had in mind. Both of them have their merits, but both unfortunately exhibit a kind of technical incompetence which at this stage of the game is inexcusable.

The idea of just straightforwardly filming a concert of fair-to-middling music played by the best artists is one that might occur, and apparently did, to somebody very fond of music and very ignorant about movies. It is interesting to see what Emanuel Feuermann looked like (he died in May, 1942); and to watch his hands in close-up disposing of a difficult passage; music teachers in schools will find him very useful in demonstrating the enormous physical skill involved in handling an instrument like the cello. The Coolidge string quartet is even more instructive, since the structure of the composition itself is made visually clear as the camera picks up the leading and then the secondary themes played by each instrument alone and in ensemble.

The film is interesting and the sound track is fairly good; but the inner rhythm of the film (determined by the length and type of shot, and the cutting) constantly interferes with

the auditory rhythm, instead of emphasizing or enhancing it by deliberate contrast. This lack of synchronization produces a jerkiness of movement and a sense of disunity which was eliminated from ordinary films about 1927. Either you had to look at the film, or listen to the music; and by the end of the evening most of the patrons had their eyes shut. *Adventures in Music* is a canned concert, illustrated with some animated photographs.

The Great Mr. Handel takes a third, or middle course, between interpretation and straight exposition. This method consists of narrating the composer's life, describing the physical environment in which he lived and worked, and then, by simultaneously playing a selection of his better-known works, suggesting that this imagined circumstance, or that sunset, made him mean what he meant. Handel emerges from his current ordeal as a gratifyingly simple genius with a great talent for writing religious oratorios; the inspiration for which comes to him in the night as a kind of private pageant (not unlike *Fantasia*). He also suffers from a comic man-servant.

The music itself comes through clearly and beautifully, quite unimpeded by quantities of undoubtedly authentic 18th century décor. Using 18th century lighting, however, is carrying verisimilitude too far: so also is the reproduction of some fine old 18th century mumbling in the dialogue; and the inclusion of sixteen rows of little dots between each reel of film serves no good purpose either.

In spite of *Adventures in Music*, the prospects for the canned concert are quite good, since the difficulties are chiefly technical and might have been avoided. True music-lovers, an aristocratic minority, will certainly be satisfied long before any adequate interpretative films appear for the rest of us. Perhaps, as somebody suggested, the only solution is a private screen for every listener, upon which he could project his own inevitable set of symbols. In the meantime, go and see *Fantasia*. Infuriating Disney is better than no Disney at all.

Railway Station

Confused, embedded, over-turbulent world
Whirling and swarming on outbound passage—
In space churning; in ether resounding,
Never ceaseless; never without sound.

They say there is centre, earth's heart, core
For no hearing; no sounding jeer
They say in a muffled underworld
Quiet is born for the inner ear.

Not knowing is not finding. But some—
That soldier newly come
Wears such silence on his face:
He has been to that place.

Not death, though he knows its beak
Not sleep, that cup for thirst:
Agony swept him, flak burst
The punctured sky made shriek

And eyes failing, ears dim
Voluptuous the quiet came.
Washed to the heart's core, he:
That soldier standing quietly.

Dorothy Livesey.

Security for the Citizen: A Blueprint for Government Life Insurance

Boris Sherashevski

▶ ONE EVIL that is felt strongly by all men who are wise enough to know that the future is unpredictable is the high cost of life insurance. The following blueprint for a government-controlled life insurance company is designed to alleviate this evil, to take a service that the state should supply free of charge to every citizen, and at least make it as inexpensive as possible. This plan is not to be considered a fundamental reform in itself, but merely an interim device to alleviate hardship. It is designed to be the logical and necessary complement to the Dominion Government's annuity plan, begun against the savage opposition of the insurance companies, in 1908.

This article deals with two distinct problems. The first is the merits of the so-called "permanent insurance" as opposed to a pay-as-you-go plan; the second, the merits of government-sponsored as opposed to private life insurance. It is apparent that either kind of insurance could be sold by either kind of company, but pay-as-you-go insurance will not be sold by private companies, because it is difficult to make it pay excessive profits. Therefore what is needed is first to convince the people that they should buy only pay-as-you-go life insurance, and then to persuade the government to make this kind of insurance easily and cheaply available. The organized pressure needed can not be brought to bear on the government in power until intelligent citizens are made familiar with the basic nature of life insurance. Rackets flourish because of ignorance. If all citizens were informed and careful buyers most business rackets would disappear.

As is shown below, any political party can guarantee to form a government company which will sell life insurance at exactly half current rates, and still make a profit. This company would operate, not to the exclusion of the established private companies, but in fair competition with them. In addition to halving the rates, it could further guarantee to make insurance available to all at this low rate. The medical examination would be abolished, and anyone well enough to walk to the nearest post office would be allowed to buy life insurance. These two guarantees will be possible because the proposed company would compute its premiums from the actual death rates taken from the Canadian census. Private companies compute the expected death rate (and therefore the premiums) on the basis of a particularly unhealthy group, and then insure only a particularly healthy group by means of the machinery of the medical examination. This means that the death rate is never as high as that used in computing premiums, and the difference is entered in the profit and loss account under profit. The premium charged by a government company would be large enough to cover the over-all death rate as obtained from the Canadian census, plus the cost of doing business.

This is not to be construed as a proposal that the government should take over the life insurance companies. To take over a business of such size and complexity, and try to run it against the obstructionist tactics which would undoubtedly be used against a usurping government, would be a fatal mistake. The government would not attempt to control the business. Free enterprisers would be given just

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what they say they want—free competition in the open market. The government would merely give itself an insurance charter, and go into the business in a perfectly straightforward way. The only difference between it and the established companies is that it would demand no medical examination, would employ no agents, and would sell \$5,000.00 worth of protection for \$50.00 a year instead of \$100.00. The companies would be invited to remain and compete, and no doubt they would do some business with people who wanted more than the ten thousand dollar limit set by the government. This arrangement, as I see it, would be quite satisfactory all around. Workers, farmers, clerks, and small storekeepers, who cannot afford much insurance, would get it at a very cheap rate. Those who could afford more than ten thousand dollars worth would be able to pay, without great hardship, the larger premiums asked by the companies.

II

The proposed plan for a people's insurance company can be proved feasible by the use of simple mathematics, but the proof must be approached through an understanding of what life insurance is. In spite of the complication of most policies, life insurance itself is anything but complicated.¹

It is a device for mitigating the financial effects of a common misfortune by spreading the loss over a large number of people. This is not a gamble, but a scientific business worked out from vital statistics and the mathematical laws of probability. Mortality tables are available which show that of 1,000 men living at age 10, 8 will die at age 30. At the beginning of their 30th year the thousand men know that eight of their number will die in the next twelve-month period, but not one can be certain of the identity of the eight. They therefore agree to protect their dependents by paying \$1,000 to the widows of each of the eight unidentified men who are to die. This will require a fund of \$8,000, and, since the cost is to be divided among the thousand men, each one will have to pay \$8 for his protection. This is the cost of pure insurance.

Since men are more likely to die the older they become, the cost of insurance must increase with advancing age. This is a statistical fact, and no amount of juggling with figures, or no new insurance plan explained by a friendly and persuasive agent, can get around it. The usual method of sugar-coating this bitter pill is to double or triple the insurance premiums early in life, in order to build up a

¹Some suspicious investigators feel that the complication of most insurance contracts is a smoke screen thrown up for the purpose of hiding the real nature of the business from the policyholder.

surplus which will take care of the increased cost of insurance later. This is a legitimate device, but the private companies charge much more for this than it is worth. The amount of overpayment in early life is much larger than it needs to be. One reason for this is that the rates are made up on the assumption that a man age 95 still needs to be insured to protect his children in case of untimely death. The fact that his children have by this time reached the ripe age of 65, and are themselves ready for retirement, does not seem to have occurred to the insurance companies. The second circumstance which makes money for the companies is the undeniable fact that money earns interest. In determining how much overpayment should be made early in life, the companies conveniently forget this fact. A \$20 overpayment, earning interest at 4% compounded annually, grows to \$80 at the end of thirty-five years. The overpayments alone are sufficient to pay even the exorbitant rate necessary to keep up premiums to age 95. The interest on these overpayments, amounting to a sum several times the payments themselves, is profit for the insurance company.

The following plan for a people's life insurance company is worked out as a general outline only. Many details, such as the maximum amount to be carried by one person, and the beneficiaries allowed, can be decided finally only after the plan has been in operation for a year. The accompanying premium table for the new company gives the rates payable at any age from 20 to 70 for each \$1,000 of insurance. It will be noted that the premium increases each year. As was explained before, older men are more likely to die, and the extra money to pay their dependents must come from higher premiums. The sudden rise in premiums after age 50 will encourage men to reexamine their insurance to see if they are not carrying too much. Most men who are going to have children do so between the ages of 20 and 30. This means that when men are around 50 their children have either graduated from college or are established in jobs. In either case they have ceased to be financially dependent, and with fewer dependents, a man can safely drop some of his insurance. If he has invested the difference between the private and the government company premium in a government annuity, he will be able to start dropping his insurance long before the annuity payments begin at age 65. This is because an annuity is really a form of insurance, and pays a benefit in the event of the holder's death. The amount of this death benefit is determined by the size of the annuity premiums. Say a man age 30 needed \$10,000 worth of insurance. The average premium charged by private companies for this amount is \$230.00, but the government

PROPOSED PREMIUM TABLE AND LOADING TABLE
FOR THE PEOPLE'S INSURANCE COMPANY

1 Age	2 Number dying American Experience Mortality Table (Mange & Glover, p. 12)	3 Number dying Canadian Government Statistics	4 Premium needed to cover expected rate of loss (to nearest \$.50)	5 *Av. premium charged by 5 private companies	6 Premium charged by people's plan	7 Loading (20% of premium paid)
20	7.80	2.41	\$ 2.50	\$18.50	\$ 9.25	\$1.85
25	8.06	2.57	2.50	20.00	10.00	2.00
30	8.43	2.60	2.50	23.00	11.50	2.30
35	8.95	3.18	3.00	27.50	13.75	2.75
40	9.79	4.29	4.50	32.00	16.00	3.20
45	11.16	6.00	6.00	38.00	19.00	3.80
50	13.78	8.99	9.00	46.50	23.25	4.64
55	18.57	13.55	13.50	58.00	28.00	5.60
60	26.69	20.50	20.50	72.00	36.00	7.20
65	40.13	31.38	31.50	91.00	45.50	9.10
70	61.99	48.75	48.75			

*These rates, of course, are for "permanent" insurance, that is, to age 95.

company will provide it for a premium of \$115.00. The difference between the two premiums, or \$115.00, is invested each year in a government annuity. After 20 years the insurance value of the annuity is \$3,540.00. Therefore, if the man were to die his dependents would receive not \$10,000 but \$13,540. If then, when he is 50, his dependents still need \$10,000, he can provide this amount of protection by carrying only \$6,460.00 worth of insurance. At age 60, the insurance value of the annuity has increased to \$6,710, and still more insurance may be dropped.

As has been seen, any premium is made up of two things, the contribution to pay to the widows of the men who die in that year (determined from the mortality tables) and the cost of doing business (called the "loading"). It is apparent that the government's cost of doing business could be very low. It would employ no agents, since life insurance would be sold at any post office. There would be no doctor's bills to pay, because policies would be issued without medical examination. There would be no advertising costs, because news of insurance being sold for half price would spread apace. There would be no excessive directors' fees and executive costs to pay. (It is suggested that the head of the people's insurance company receive not over \$15,000 per year, with other executive salaries in proportion. This alone will represent a great saving compared to the annual salaries of from \$50,000 to \$200,000 paid to the presidents of the large private companies.) There would be no huge building to be paid for out of premiums—the government has its own buildings. Finally, the premiums charged would not have to cover the cost of "Save Free Enterprise" campaigns in the newspapers and over the radio. The small policyholders would not have to pay, as they do now, for the privilege of being told that free enterprise is a fine thing.

With all these expensive loading factors removed the government would be able to sell insurance even at the mortality table rates and still make money. It may be objected that the mortality table rates allow nothing for the cost of doing business, but this is not true. By comparing columns 2 and 3 it will be seen that the death rate in each age group in Canada is actually lower than the figure in the table. This is because the American Experience mortality table was made up in 1890, and the average life span has since increased; and because the table was made on the basis of death rates for city dwellers, while most Canadians live either in the country, or in towns of less than 10,000 population, where death rates are lower. This difference between the death rate used to compute premiums and the actual death rate would amount to a large sum of money each year. This money would be put aside as a reserve fund to use when difficulties arose in the early years of the new company. The increased death rates resulting from unpredictable events such as epidemics and wars would be paid out of this reserve fund.

The actual cost of operating the company would be paid by the portion of the premium shown in column 7. This amount is 20% of the premium in every case. That this amount will be more than enough to cover all operating costs is proven by the fact that the private companies, even after paying fancy executive salaries and agent's commissions of 40%, still have expense ratios ranging from 12% to 18%.

In order to show how the premium money would be spent, let us take the specific case of a man age 30 taking out \$1,000 of insurance. The premium charged would be half that of the private companies, or \$11.50. Of this amount, \$2.60 must be set aside to pay the expected mortality claims

for men age 30 (see column 3). The difference between the expected mortality rate and the rate on which premiums were figured, \$8.43 — \$2.60 = \$5.83 (see columns 2 and 3) would be put aside to form the reserve fund. The loading on this premium to pay expenses amounts to \$2.30 (20% of \$11.50). After paying mortality costs of \$2.60, costs of \$2.30, and putting \$5.83 in the reserve fund, there remains \$7.77 of the premium still to be accounted for. This sum, amounting to 6½% of the premium, would be set aside for educational purposes. The policyholder would be bombarded with a series of pamphlets written by experts, giving specific and easily-understood directions on how to avoid death in all its forms. The experience of the Metropolitan Insurance Company has shown that such an educational program pays dividends both to the company and to the policyholder. The company's gains take the form of a better than average mortality experience; the policyholder has the gratification of avoiding death.

So much for the costs. Now for the profits. The people do not want to be partners in a business that just breaks even. Having been brought up in a competitive society, they must have a profit, if only for their feelings of self-respect. The profit in this life insurance plan would come from the interest on premiums paid. Let us say that a million people in Canada took advantage of the half-price plan and bought an average of \$2,000 of insurance each. They would pay an average premium of \$10 per thousand, for a total of twenty million dollars. This amount would be paid in on, say, January 1, 1946. The government would forthwith buy bonds from itself, thus investing its money at 3% interest. At the end of the year the number of people dying, the costs of doing business, and the costs of reserves and the educational program will have eaten up all the principal, that is, the ten million dollars paid in. But the people will have died throughout the year, not all on January 1, hence the principal will have earned interest for an average of half the year, or for the whole year at a net rate of 1½%. At the end of the first year, then, the people's insurance company account would stand thus:

Received in premiums.....	\$20,000,000
Interest on premiums at 1½%.....	300,000
	<hr/>
	\$20,300,000
Paid in claims and costs.....	\$20,000,000
Net profit.....	\$ 300,000

If this profit were invested in bonds at 3% each year, after ten years the profits would amount to over 3½ million dollars, and after twenty years to over 8 million. These are the minimum profits that would be made by an insurance company which sells the product at exactly half the current rates, and is run for the benefit of the policyholders. The life insurance business is such a lucrative one that after a few years the government would be seriously embarrassed by the question of what to do with its profits. After an adequate reserve had been built up, the company could either lower its rates, or add extra benefits such as health and accident insurance to every policy.

III

This plan for government life insurance is not new. Approximations to the plan are in operation in several countries now. The United States government has insured the lives of over seven million service men, charging them a premium of less than half the rates asked by the private companies. The Savings Bank Life Insurance sold in the

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states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, while not as cheap as the kind proposed, is nevertheless very much cheaper than ordinary insurance.² Some insurance of the kind proposed is issued as group policies by labor unions and large employers, and some is issued by lodges and fraternal societies. But only a small fraction of the population is able to take advantage of these plans. The basic purpose of the proposed life insurance plan is to make cheap protection available to every citizen.

There are four chief objections which can be brought against the plan. The first is that there is no savings element in the life insurance contract. In an ordinary life insurance policy, some of the overpayments of premiums are set aside as a so-called "savings fund," which the policyholder can borrow when needed, and pay only 6% interest for the use of his own money. If the policyholder wants to give up carrying insurance, he can have this money returned to him (cash surrender value), but the penalty for doing so is that if he ever wants to renew his insurance protection he must pay a much higher rate for the privilege of starting over again. These are the two possibilities if the man lives. If he dies (which is the only alternative to living) his widow is paid only the face value of the policy, and the savings fund disappears. From this it appears that the savings aspect of a life insurance policy is not only valueless, but is a liability. If you live, there are penalties attached to taking advantage of your own savings; if you die, you lose them all. Therefore the fact that insurance under the proposed plan would not have any savings fund cannot be considered a disadvantage. Under the new plan the people would be able to put the savings realized by buying government instead of private insurance into bonds at 3%, and would have them available without penalty to meet any domestic emergency that might arise.

A second objection that may be heard outside of insurance company boardrooms is that the new company will pay no dividends. This again is true. But dividends, from the point of view of the policyholder, are not an unmixed blessing. Dividends are merely a partial return of overcharges made by the company, hence it is apparent that the larger the dividends, the more you were overcharged in the beginning. A generous return of overcharges by the private companies can reduce the premiums considerably, but even the reduced premiums cannot come close to competing with the proposed half-rate premium. In addition, the policyholder has no absolute certainty that dividends will be paid. The private companies do not guarantee to pay them, and when the Prudential of England in 1941 declared that, in the interests of the war effort, no more dividends would be paid for the duration, there was inward groaning among its policyholders, but they could do nothing about it.

A third objection that might be made is that the premium increases every year. But a comparison of columns 5 and 6 in the table will show that 25 years must pass before a man of 20 will have to pay as much for his insurance as he is paying now. As was pointed out above, if government annuities and government insurance are carried together, the insurance value of the annuity after 25 years will be very high, and the annuitant will be able to drop some of his insurance. The constantly rising premiums would give men a much-needed incentive to reexamine their insurance needs. The necessity for life insurance falls off sharply after a man's

children come of age. Therefore as premiums increase, the amount of insurance needed will decrease, and the total amount spent for protection will remain the same.

Another argument that may be brought against this plan is that it would throw several thousand insurance agents out of work. It is true that it would force many of them into some other kind of work, but even if it were to make them join the unemployed, and die of starvation, it must be conceded by anyone who believes in a democratic organization of society that this is no valid argument against the plan. The democratic state, by definition, considers the greatest good for the greatest number. To refuse the benefit of low-cost life insurance to ten million citizens because ten thousand will suffer thereby is a denial of democratic principles. But even this small amount of suffering need not take place. There is plenty of work to be done in Canada. We need roads, housing, canals, industries, exploration, development—a thousand and one things. After living in Connecticut and New York State I am appalled at the low standard of living in Canada. One reason why our standard of living is low is because our national income is low, that is, we have too many people like insurance agents and advertising men, who produce nothing and so make no contribution to the national income. The fact that this plan will force many of the drones in our society into useful work in a country that is crying for workers is another strong argument in its favor.

The Dominion Government has already gone into the annuity business, and has been very successful in competition with the private insurance companies in this field. It can very easily expand into the other branch of this business, namely, life insurance, and can publish the specific rates at which it proposes to sell its service. It can show, as I have tried to do here, that the government is going into the life insurance business, not on a subsidy basis, but as a money-making enterprise. It can quote the mortality tables it proposes to use, and from these can guarantee the scale of premiums that will be charged. These premiums can be one-half those of the established companies, and still keep the government company solvent. Some such plan as this is a vital necessity to make the benefits of honest life insurance cheap and available to all.

The Wasted Magnificence of Life

And the pilot, while on bombing missions, came face to face
With war's sordid tragedy, the penultimate of strife.
Journeying through the lofty and unreal desert of space,
He observed sadly the wasted magnificence of life.
The harsh darkness was clamped to his plane in desolate skies
That pushed bright and burning stars profoundly into his
eyes.

The dark world dissolved on the static horizon, floating
In space always, ever revealing fire, Time-Space denoting
All of the human madnnesses that he has heard and seen
In one too-brief lifetime, causes lost in effects between
The waste of minds mutilated and bodies beheaded,
The flesh too vulnerable, the delicate mind shredded,
Love twisted awry into hate, and all around the clock
The glazed look in the eyes of wounded men, the sign of
shock,

The stare of death, the smoking rubble of ruined cities:
And he weeps for the innocent; it is they he pities!

Clem Graham.

²These semi-state experiments in insurance were fought by powerful lobbies financed by the private companies, and in Massachusetts were investigated by the legislature. In the investigations the banks were able to prove that not a single dollar of tax money had been used to finance the new venture.

Cadenza

Trees shake gentle skaters out
On the arena of my sleep,
Silent colors turn and grow
On the surface of the night
Where red by red is multiplied
And blue divides its blue with ice;
Flying music lifts the edge
From tightly nailed memory.

Skaters turn and dancers whirl
In flashing curves and voices lift
The heavy rafters of my sleep
With spiralled shouts that coalesce
And rocket skywards, close on stars;
Their sharp points cut a jagged line
Into the the careful shape of peace.
Then color captures spring
And I wake prisoner
In morning's branches.

Miriam Waddington.

Children at Night

A PAINTING BY PHILIP SURREY

The passer-by:
Here in the scene of the street in the night
Why are you afraid, children?
In this ramshackle block
Each pursues his own homeward course
Past the curving flights
Leading up from the street;
And when the street-lights are lit
The shadows cast by each passer-by are harmless.

The children:
The scene of the street in the night
Is different for us who remain here.
At night each fleeing scavenger
Casts his black past on the window beam of light
Penetrating through the mist down to the street,
And those standing under the lamp-posts
Safe in the light, but surrounded by fear,
Are still standing there rigid when the dawn comes.
And those looking onto the end of the street
See it narrowing and advancing to a darkening bleakness,
While those running out of the opening
See it widened beyond human scope.

The artist:
Here in the scene of the street in the night
The dimness and the damp
Cast shudders into the children,
And after whirling about, fleeing into nowhere,
The children in the street
Settle down in some shade,
And alone in the dark and the cold
They know fear through the night.

Harry Garfinkle.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

MUST CANADA SPLIT?: C. E. Silcox; Ryerson; pp. 5; 16; 25c.

Mr. Silcox, moved by the consuming fire of an evangelical Protestantism, sets out in this pamphlet to explain Canada's problem of national unity in terms of a war of religion. Protestantism, representing all that is tolerant, democratic and progressive, is in conflict with a Catholicism which is everything that is grasping, bigoted and totalitarian; there is an utter incompatibility here which can only be resolved "by the unconditional surrender of one side or the other." All other factors which might account for differences of opinion between Quebec and the rest of Canada are brushed aside as unimportant. Indeed, political imperialism, which has been foolishly thought by some to explain much of Quebec's reluctance to throw herself into external wars, "was and is a necessary stage in international political progress," something fully understood except by "people who refuse to face the facts of the modern world." The Anglo-Canadian, who thinks of Quebec "as a family skeleton in the closet," apparently does not know, as Mr. Silcox does, that "the only way such difficulties can be solved is by calling for a show-down." We are facing, apparently, "the inevitable conflict"—which is a heading of one section of the pamphlet—but we are told that "civil war is unthinkable" and that those who talk that way (the pamphlet is full of implied warfare) should be "sternly rebuked." Canada must make her fateful decision, one way or another; the decision is not precisely formulated, but it seems to be either to create an independent state for French-Canada, or else. . . . Just what would happen in the latter event is not clear, but it is evident Mr. Silcox would be satisfied, and Catholics wouldn't. Any other solution than these drastic ones is so "difficult to envisage" that not one sentence is devoted to the question, except to dismiss as "naive radicals" those who "want to see all religious interest submerged and who talk of the duty of Anglo-Canadians to stand by and help the French-Canadians to attain their own spiritual independence."

The pamphlet lacks an introduction by Pastor Shields.

F. R. S.

THE BIBLE AND THE COMMON READER: Mary Ellen Chase; MacMillan; pp. 316: \$2.75.

In a day when it seems that many are turning once more to the biblical books for inspiration or comfort, it is interesting to find this worthy contribution appear as a signpost to their better understanding. In a day of vicious, yes, dangerous, recrudescence of "fundamentalism," it is refreshing to think that some readers may, through this type of book, see the light of intelligent interpretation of the Hebrew-Christian bases of religion and their challenging claims. Laurels to Professor Chase—and orchids to the publishers

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if they manage to distribute this book widely among this class of "common reader."

While the section on the Old Testament is vastly longer—justly so, perhaps, because of the greater bulk and variety of the material—the New Testament section strikes this reviewer as the better part. It is all definitely stimulating; and this reader at least is driven back to reread the books of Ruth, Esther and Jonah as magnificent specimens of early "fiction"—particularly the last-named he had not clearly thought of as such. In the New Testament literature one is interested to be informed or reminded of certain striking facts: e.g., that "the Second Epistle of Peter . . . was, of course, not actually written by him, as it appeared about the year 150 A.D."; that "St. Matthew's Gospel (the Gospel according to St. Matthew is its correct title, incidentally!) could not, in point of time, have been written by the disciple of Jesus known as Matthew. Its unknown author obviously either possessed or assumed the same name"; and that "probably no single book in the New Testament of today is precisely as it was when it left the hands of its original writer." This teacher's product (the author teaches English at Smith College) should find its way to all school libraries.

The men who wrote the New Testament, according to our author, while in no sense the Shakespeares, Dantes or Miltons of their age (as were some of the Old Testament writers), were, she writes, "men on fire with a new idea, with a fresh and a young enthusiasm, with an exalted hope for mankind. They were stirred by new emotions in an old and tired world. . . ." Professor Chase's own abilities are indeed similar. Her amazing enthusiasm makes her speak in superlatives about a remarkably large number of these old records. An example from her clear chapter on the Apocalypse will serve to suggest the paean of praise she sings also for many others—"one of the loftiest works of human imagination that the literature of the world can afford." One slip (on p. 274) should be corrected in later printings: the *Benedictus* (not *Benedicite*) of Zacharias.

John F. Davidson.

UNDERSTANDING THE YOUNG CHILD: William E. Blatz; Oxford (Clarke, Irwin & Co.); pp. 278; \$2.50.

In 273 pages Dr. Blatz attempts to indicate, sometimes in broad philosophical terms, at others in great detail, the "best upbringing possible" for youth in preparation for maturity and life. He describes the process of learning which is largely dependent on the interplay of motivation, capacity and persistence. For the perplexing problem of discipline he prescribes five rules: one, that the consequences of an act should be consistent; two, a supervising adult must be able to recognize situations in which the relevant consequences are consistent and in such situations the child must be permitted to make his own choice without interference; three, the adult must scrutinize very carefully the rules which she is attempting to administer lest the privilege of belonging to the adult society seems to the child a doubtful one. "Isolation is the only arbitrary consequence which the adult employs." Four, the child should derive some gratification from conforming, and five, whenever the responsibility for carrying out the details of a plan of discipline rests upon the adult, force as a sanction is justified.

The control of the emotions, social development especially in the matter of submission and dominance, security, not in the sense of safety, but "the state of consciousness which accompanies a willingness to accept the consequences of one's own decisions and actions" and the development of a sense of responsibility are dealt with rather fully. Work and play, the development of speech, the imagination, a

philosophy of education, with chapters on the nursery school in modern life and parent education, wind up this book which is designed to assist teachers, social workers, parents and others who have the training of the young under their care.

Although detailed and elementary directions are given in such matters as training the young child in eating, sleeping and other habits, on the whole the book indicates attitudes and principles which the adult can interpret as the case suggests. It is a useful book if somewhat uneven in interest.

Frances Crowther.

THE CLOSED SHOP: Department of Industrial Relations, Queens University (Bulletin No. 9); 1944; pp. 85; \$1.50.

This bulletin purports to be an impartial study of the methods used by unions to attain security. As such it deals not only with the closed shop but also with the union shop, the preferential shop, and the maintenance of membership arrangement—a compromise that is finding favor with conciliation boards. Considerable space is devoted to arguments for and against the closed shop, put forward by union and management representatives, and the "impartiality" of the authors seems to lead them to a position of substantial agreement with the employers' viewpoint!

The authors seem to be under the delusion that the question of the closed shop will be settled in the area of public opinion. They devote themselves to an abstract, highly theoretical discussion of society and the closed shop, and—like the employers' representatives on conciliation boards—are very much concerned about the "freedom" of the minority (often composed of company stooges) which stands out against joining a union. They are also perturbed about the position of the employer, who is pictured as being completely at the mercy of the union under a closed shop agreement. No mention is made of the impartial chairman, whose function is to arbitrate disputes under closed shop agreements. An unbalanced picture is presented.

To the reviewer it seems that the whole question has been wrongly approached. Assuming that collective bargaining is desirable—the authors don't deny that—the chief question relative to the closed shop is whether or not it is the most effective form of bargaining. The answer to this question is to be found in the first-hand study of existing closed shops. If the authors had approached their work from that angle they would have found that many, or most, of the problems that used up pages in their study were more imaginary than real.

The chief fault with *The Closed Shop* is that the work is devoted to the study of an abstraction when real, functioning closed shops exist in great numbers. But, perhaps it better suited Queens' Department of Industrial Relations to approach the question in this academic manner.

J. Lloyd Harrington.

PARTNER IN THREE WORLDS: Dorothy Duncan; Collins (Harper & Bros.); pp. 340; \$3.50.

Fiction cannot compete in these convulsive days (except as ineffectual escapism) with biography. And to North Americans the biography of the little understood middle European is filled with drama and badly needed information. The gap can by no means be filled by war correspondents. It must come to us direct, as it does in Dorothy Duncan's *Partner in Three Worlds*, the story of Jan Rieger, native of Prague and interpreter to us of Czecho-Slovakia.

Unforgettable are the pictures of pre-war Prague in the day-to-day life of the small child Jan. Poverty depressed his youth and the loneliness of the destitute well-born. There

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was the day when he was led by his mother through the dark, winter streets, to pause on the bridge over the Vltava until terror gripped him and he cried "Please." "Very well," she said at last. Her voice was beautiful, but very tired. So she did not drown herself, and Jan lived to cultivate a fine brain. He trotted the streets delivering his mother's sewing. He visited his Germanized uncle and German aunt in Berlin and his close experience with Germans ended in the feeling he now expresses that the only hope for progress is the killing of many Germans.

In his stormy upward progress he reveals to us the life of pre-war Prague under Hungarian-Germanic domination. Restlessness drove him into the first war where he attained renown. Returning to the newly democratized Czechoslovakia he saw that the world cannot rely lazily on its returned men to rebuild civilization.

"For four years . . . we had been disciplined by an army into organized killing, and we had been able to lean back on discipline as though it were a wall. Now we had been asked suddenly to make a decision for ourselves, with no time to learn once again how to reason and weigh both sides."

There was more war. "At the time I had no way of knowing how quickly the Americans and British lost interest after the collapse of Germany. Years later Churchill called this the 'unknown war,' but it was real enough to us."

Then came the years in which he took his critical way through the banking and social worlds, lived in Paris for a time, and emerged in the end as a world-famed artist in fine glass. The pre-war great passed through his galleries, and his snapshots are candid. How much of this story is the writing of Jan, and how much of Dorothy Duncan sometimes puzzles the reader, but it is told in the best European manner, realistic, sensitive and intelligent.

On reaching New York, which he found only interested in his fine glass and not his nation's griefs, he writes:

"Only France and the British Empire were fighting Germany now, and I could feel neither sympathy nor confidence in either of these powers. For decades they had been blind; they had turned their backs on Spain . . . on Russia . . . on us. I remained unconvinced that they were in a war now for any other purpose than to defend their own interests."

To his brilliant friend Karel, still in Prague, he sent passage for New York, but received reply that "he was where he wanted to be. He saw nothing in England, France or the United States that was worth trying to save oneself to get."

Unable to enter the war through the United States, after his country had been overrun, Rieger came to Montreal and is now with the British Intelligence. "We need fifty years to attain democracy," said Masaryk. But they had only ten years.

Eleanor McNaught.

THIRTY POEMS: Thomas Merton; New Directions; pp. 23; \$1.00 (U.S.A.)

YPNOS (Vol. IV): William Dobree Calvert; pp. 33; privately printed.

NINE POEMS: Arthur S. Bourinot; Ryerson; pp. 12.

HIGH WIND: Dorothy Murray Sliter; The Crucible Press; pp. 32.

Thirty Poems is one of six volumes published in 1944 by New Directions in their The Poets of the Year series. Thomas Merton's poetry is lofty in tone, finely-molded, with the fluency of diction and wide-ranging allusiveness of a travelled scholar. Many of his poems—especially his "Aubade: Lake Erie"—show a strong feeling for the soil.

Awake, in the frames of windows, innocent children,
Loving the blue, sprayed leaves of childish life,
Applaud the bearded corn, the bleeding grape,
And cry:

"Here is the hay-colored sun, our marvelous cousin,
Walking in the barley,
Turning the harrowed earth to growing bread . . ."

The author, who was born in Southern France, is now a Trappist monk and the theme of religion appears in more than half of the poems which make up his volume. In these, in spite of the urbanity and neatness of his language, he clings too abjectly to medieval thinking to offer much that is inspiring or intelligible in regard to the present.

Ypnos (Vol. IV) is a collection of poems by a medical doctor of North Vancouver. These poems have been produced over a considerable period of years (one is dated 1916) and suggest the avocation of a hard-working professional man. Broad sympathies are indicated by the variety of subjects treated, two of which appear to predominate: the author's memories of his youth in England and his participation in and reflections upon maternity cases. The tone of the work is sanguine and kindly and goes from quite exalted love poems to whimsical bits of light verse. Mr. Bourinot's nine poems are smoothly written, gently lyrical and have some pictorial value. They are generally nostalgic in sentiment, though in "Winter Morning" there is an effective merging of a sharply etched landscape with a sense of the universal.

Mrs. Sliter expresses a love of the outdoors and writes gracefully of the woods, startled fawns, Indian gods and bird life. She feels a poetic affinity with the wind.

I shall be wind in the leaves, and as free.
And many an ear will hearken to my song.
There will be music and laughter, and for me
Life will be long.

Her poems are always musical, with some feeling for color and a decorative type of imagery. They are weakened, however, by the use of overworked poetic words, like "elfin," "dulcet," "roseate" and "mystic." The Wordsworthian construction of such a line as, "I wandered eager as a doe" is lacking in freshness; and the animism in "The earth curtsied impishly in her bright hood" is too kittenish to be interesting.

Alan Creighton.

HARD FACTS: Howard Spring; Collins; pp. 290; \$2.75.

Quoting Macaulay's summary of Bacon's career as a "chequered spectacle of so much glory and so much shame," it was Howard Spring's intention to write a long novel with the thesis that this applies to the lives of most men. It was to be called "So Much Glory; So Much Shame." But the impact of war and world ferment proved too disturbing, and the theme has been broken into three parts; the first of which, *Hard Facts*, has just been published. The story opens in Manchester in the year 1885.

Howard Spring, whose *My Son, My Son* has been made into a successful movie, is one of those writers who, like Warwick Deeping, perhaps by oversimplification, perhaps for lack of that extra ounce of concentration, just misses being first-rate. But he is so good as to have a large following. His admirers will enjoy *Hard Facts* in spite of its unattractive title. There is a warmth of characterization and atmosphere, and a diversity of type and background, which combine to make an interesting book.

"Hard Facts" is the weekly paper originated and carried into successful being by a printer living in a small shop in

the most sordid section of Manchester. Presently Manchester and eventually England are plastered with advertisements of "Hard Facts" (another Tit-Bits), and fame and fortune accrue to its owner, Dan Dunkerley. His success story is relieved of boredom by the bitter criticism and sardonic gibes thrown at Dunkerley by his editor, a half-mad, epileptic poet. Woven into the story are a pompous but likeable curate, his wealthy patroness, a section of lower Manchester, and most consistent of all the characters, the Vicar. He is one of those rare people who live Christianity, and are above criticism or argument.

But, having started with all these rich characters, the book slumps toward the end, as if the author could not quite carry its load. Perhaps it will be lifted again with the second volume. Tragedy was inevitable if one accepted the not quite credible early life of the lovely, red-headed Elsie, but the extra turning of the screw at the end seems so uncalled for as to be inartistic.

Eleanor McNaught.

CORRECTION PLEASE!: Corrective Research (Los Angeles, Calif.); \$7.50 (U.S.A.).

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